

Maclean's

THE DEATH OF TRACY LATIMER

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?



.....
CANADIANS
DEBATE
A FATHER'S
'MERCY' KILLING
AND THE VERDICT
OF MURDER





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What would you do?

16 A Saskatchewan jury convicted Robert Latimer of second-degree murder for ending the life of his disabled daughter, Tracy—erasing the nationwide debate on the emotional issue of mercy killing. While many saw Latimer as the victim of a rigid legal system, others praised the verdict for upholding the rights of the most vulnerable people in society



Common interest

54 A sharp increase in interest rates by the Federal Reserve Board is intended to chill any signs of inflation in the booming U.S. economy. That move, however, could dampen the Canadian economy, which is still in recovery

A new generation

82 The wildly popular *Star Trek* series, which has had a 28-year run on TV, has spun off six previous movies. The hotly anticipated *Star Trek: Generations* brings together past and present captains of the Starship Enterprise, William Shatner (left) and Patrick Stewart, to save—what else?—the entire galaxy



LETTERS

'A leading source'

Congratulations for another excellent *Evening of Canadian universities* ("Universities 94," Special Report, Nov. 14). Thousands of high school students across the country will look to *Maclean's* to help make one of the most important decisions of their lives. Last year, your analysis helped me in my decision to attend Queen's University, and I have not had any regrets. As for the universities that chose not to participate, what are they hiding? One such institution opted out of your survey, yet they have a full-page advertisement in the issue. It just shows how important your magazine's ranking has become.

Chris Leher
Kingston, Ont.

I am an economics student at the University of Western Ontario in London. Instead of comparing the undergraduate faculties of arts and science of universities for your rankings, would it not be better to rank individual departments like economics or politics, and other faculties like business administration? This would probably be more useful to high-school students planning to embark on a specific program.

Samuel N. Pissard,
London, Ont.

I found your inclusion of "abundant access to the Internet" under the University of Waterloo in the "What's hot, what's not" article ironic in light of the university's banning of its United crew group—those duplicitous students at the ability to read and contribute to discussions of social and political topics. Despite repeated appeals, and a petition signed by hundreds of students and professors, the administration has refused to release the legal text on which the decision was based. I cannot recommend this university for students seriously concerned about their right to free speech.

Prof. Jeffrey Shultz,
Department of computer science,
University of Waterloo,
Burlington, Ont.

Why immigrate?

Hurray for novelist Neil Bissoondath and his book *Selling Atlantis: The Call of Multiculturalism in Canada* ("Trade and industry," Special Report, Nov. 7). Many Canadians feel multiculturalism has reached hub-



Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.: one of life's most important decisions

crus proportions. Do we really want to create ethnic enclaves as in the former Yugoslavia? As a second-generation Canadian of Ukrainian descent, I have absolutely no desire to hypostatize my nationality. I am Canadian, period. My children are Canadian, period. Why are people immigrating here, if not to become Canadians?

Judy Emerson,
Vancouver

Championing the "need for Canadians to rediscover and define their common values" and insisting that "immigrants understand and abide by them" shows that Ivel Bissoondath is not only ignorant of the immigrant process, but also about the nature of culture. Mainland is not only the product of its culture, it is also its author. If we see to realize our full cultural potential, we need access to all our cultural resources. While I am a passionate disagreement with many of Bissoondath's arguments, I respect his right to speak there—freedom of expression is as other strong Canadian value.

Brian Sorkin,
Saskatoon

Promised pay cuts

Douglas McMurdy is wrong when she claims in "A matter of trust" that I and several Canadian Airlines senior managers did not take a 30 percent pay cut as promised to our employees (The Bottom Line, Nov. 14). The management proxy circular McMurdy cites as proof does not include the fact that a major downsizing of the senior management group took place in July 1993. This resulted in significant increases in work responsibilities and, therefore, increased compensation for the few remaining off-

icers, while reducing total compensation for the officer group below previous levels. The board of directors, including the two employee representatives, approved these changes and then promptly lowered the full 20 percent pay cut against the new salary levels. I might also point out that, although I am destined to be succeeded in the company of Larry Blumberg and Frank Storch (19.6 million and \$4.1 million in annual compensation, respectively), my \$338,000 salary in 1993 placed me at the low end of the scale for executive earnings in Canada.

Karen J. Jenkins,
President and CEO,
Canadian Airlines International Ltd.,
Calgary

Include the assets

Why do writers on our national debt, like Peter G. Newman, ignore the other side of the equation ("Paul Martin's call: Follow me or perish," Oct. 31)? On any private-sector balance sheet, liabilities and assets are shown. Why are our national assets left out of analyses of our national finances? Add in the value of Canada's public lands, forests, highway systems, schools, parks, government buildings, hospitals, the Canadian Forces and the Coast Guard—would we still have a net liability? If our financial statements gave due weight to these assets, perhaps governments would be more likely to take care of them. Before I can be convinced that our national debt is a problem, I want to see a proper financial statement.

Geoff Dean,
Surrey, B.C.

FORECAST

"Another record-breaking low on my long distance bill."

—Fred McMann,
Newspaper publisher

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Not the real cause

Your article on the suicides of these teenagers in British Columbia ("The last trip," Canada, Oct. 30) does a great disservice to the families of the young men in question and, in fact, to teenagers everywhere. Scapegoating innocent Kurt Cobain and the band Nirvana in the case of these and other teen suicides is singularly stupid in the era

of mass media and can only add to the misunderstandings about a complex and growing problem. Not surprisingly, you do not interview any teenagers for the article.

Peter Lawrie,
Toronto

There are a lot of really screaming kids who find it easy to say they want to die because Kurt Cobain is gone, rather than the real reason, whatever that may be. I have friends who also are obsessed about Nirvana and Cobain; there were hundreds of young adults at the vigil in Seattle after his death—

why aren't they taking their lives? I sympathize with families and friends who have to deal with the aftermath of a suicide, and it is hard to come to terms with the fact a loved one was that unhappy. But people who think they can blame a dead musician for today's tragedies should face reality.

Jennifer Byer,
St. Albert, Alta.

Revisionist history

You say that "the Nazis systematically exterminated an estimated six million people, most of them Jews" (*Blatnik on the Internet*," Opening Notes, Oct. 17). I have always been led to believe it was 12 million people, of which six million were Jews.

Jay Woodrow,
Lancaster, Ont.

As New England director of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, I am one of the people that Ken McVay, featured in your article "Blatnik on the Internet," fights in the anti-revisionist discourse group. The national director of the committee, Frederick Blatnik, who runs Holocaust revisionist sites in college papers across the United States, also posts articles in anti-revisionist. Neither of us is in the ranks of the neo-Nazis, racists or kikebangers. Our main reason for being involved in this cause are the following: to allow people to hear the other side of the Holocaust story; to point out how the Holocaust story has been used over the years to foster support for the state of Israel; to assure people of German descent that their fathers and grandfathers were not genocidal (Frederick Blatnik of our respondents is German).

Ron Wisniewski,
Burlington, Mass.

'Canadian values'

I very much support the views of Charles Gorden concerning the lack of criticism being paid by the actual system and society in general to the promotion of Canadianism ("In search of Canadian values," Another View, Oct. 30). I suggest that this problem is especially acute in the teaching of Canadian history. The development of the nation is something of which we should be proud, but Canadianism as a whole exhibits an appalling lack of critical or self-critique. It is true that a nation without a shared history has no shared future² I hope not, but sometimes I wonder.

Jay Robinson,
Windsor, Ont.

Mailbox's reference section" items. But letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please provide name, address and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the Editor: Mailbox magazine, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 2B7. Or by fax: (416) 596-1709.

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OPENING NOTES

SOCIAL VALUES

In the eyes of their clients, banks have not always been known for their philanthropic leanings. But in the *Wilder Profile* feature on Nov. 9 in Montreal, Allen Taylor, who will serve as chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada in January, discussed the responsibility of business—including banks—in words that commended *The Royal Bank*, which reported annual profit of \$1 billion for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, has an annual charitable donations budget of \$24 million for 1994. Taylor's remarks:



WORD FOR WORD

Taylor: making the case for charity

The realisation has grown that the modern corporation has an economic environment that is clearly a social one as well. Without losing sight of its basic economic role, or its need to make a profit, the modern corporation has concerns, debts and responsibilities which go far beyond the economic. The business enterprise... has become a full-fledged citizen of the society in which it operates and grows. Accordingly, it must accept community responsibilities as well as private obligations, and play a role in its earning and strengthening the society which gives it existence.

There is little doubt that shifting value perceptions in the public mind have tempered the force of the idea of private

property. Today, private property rights must be aligned with the rights of community ownership such as the right at every person to enjoy certain basic standards of living, health care, education, recreation and so on.

More and more corporations find themselves facing their goals and justifying their existence not only in terms of earning profit for the shareholders, owners, which remains a paramount objective, but also in terms of a broader community interest.

ARTFUL DODGER

Just four years after he made his name in leaving his post as director of the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO) in Toronto and returning to his home town of New York City, Larry, 46, has been named director at the Museum of Modern Art in Manhattan. He will not officially leave the AGO until June. Larry says the decision to leave Toronto—and the AGO—was a difficult one. "I wouldn't have said the move if I hadn't thought the gallery was ready to really take off," When Larry joined the AGO in 1990, after six years at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, he was faced with overseeing the completion of the gallery's \$60-million expansion and controlling costs. Larry's restructuring plan for the gallery included laying off half of the 445 staff members. Since its re-opening in January, 1993 there has been renewed interest in the policy, cut-backing in the contemporary art world. Larry's restructuring plan for the gallery included laying off half of the 445 staff members.



Larry: artistic impression

Since its re-opening in January, 1993 there has been renewed interest in the policy, cut-backing in the contemporary art world. Larry's restructuring plan for the gallery included laying off half of the 445 staff members. Since its re-opening in January, 1993 there has been renewed interest in the policy, cut-backing in the contemporary art world. Larry's restructuring plan for the gallery included laying off half of the 445 staff members.

JUST SAY NO TO EUROPEAN UNITY

The referendum vote by Sweden last week to join the European Union ended a bitterly drawn campaign, but in Norway, with a vote on Europe put a week away, the campaign has heated up as much when it's weighty rhetoric. While anti-European forces enjoy a healthy no-vote lead in opinion polls, they are all going the extra kilometer to ensure all voters in line with them. Their radio newscaster Hålogaland Against the EU, who have joined forces with anti-European associations of farmers, veterinary surgeons, readers' letters and others. Another opposition group calls itself Blacks Against the EU—also a sign is, "For the

first time. Blacks say No." The Yes side in the Nov. 27 to 28 vote is spearheaded by a coalition of the governing Norwegian Labour Party, unions and big business. Finland, like Sweden, has voted to join the EU, but Norway has always been the most adamant of the three Nordic countries in its opposition. The oddball Norwegian has already voted more, in 1972, against joining the European Community. The No campaign is hoping that a touch of humor will help to produce the same result this time. "We are trying to show," said Hålogaland Against the EU leader Øyvind Ruge, "that you don't need to be a boring politician to take part in the debate."

CANADA DRY

Q: What is the difference between a gourmet restaurant and a prison?

A: The quality of food and service on long flights.

Take the federally sponsored charter flights to and from the recent "From Canada" Asian tour mission, for example. On the second day, worst case, serving Prime Minister Jean Chrétien along with other premiers, their wives and Canadian aides, everyone received carefully prepared hot meals on porcelain plates with stainless steel cutlery. There was full bar service throughout the 20-hour trip. But a charter flight coming back from Hong Kong the following week, carrying some premiers and aides but not Chrétien, offered an entirely different—and distinctly inferior—level of service. Dinner was ordinaire-wrapped sandwiches, breakfast came with plastic leaves and forks, and the flight attendant, who was not even a flight attendant, was not even a flight attendant. The flight attendant, who was not even a flight attendant, was not even a flight attendant.



Candace Aasen, emergency supplies

PASSAGES

DIED: Broadway and movie star Cab Calloway, 85, following a stroke in June, in a Delaware nursing home. For more than 50 years, Calloway performed in jazz clubs, on Broadway and in Hollywood movies. He hired an unknown teenager, Dinah Shore, and also presented the careers of Pearl Bailey and Louis Armstrong. Calloway's most famous song was "Minnie the Moocher." A native of Bay City, Mich., N.Y., Calloway graduated from Lincoln College in Chicago and was offered a contract to play basketball for the Harlem Globetrotters in 1939. He opted to stand for a career on the stage.



REIGNING: Leader of the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party, Anne McLellan, 56, after 14 years in the post. She is a former social worker and the daughter of millionaire socialist Lloyd Shaw.

CHARGED: Accused sex slayer Paul Bernardo, 30, to be transferred to an Ontario prison in order to undergo psychiatric testing at the Royal Ontario Hospital, by Ontario Court Justice Patrick LeBel. Bernardo is charged with murdering Ontario teenagers Leslie Mahoney and Kristen French.

ACQUITTED: Toronto Blue Jays pitchers Dave Stewart, 37, and Todd Stottlemeier, 28, after charges in connection with a brawl involving police at a Florida nightclub, by a one-judge jury that took less than an hour to deliver its unanimous verdict, in Tampa. The two players, both now free agents, were celebrating Stewart's birthday last February while on alcoholism with police: named.

REINTEGRATED: Wright after Jim Dine, Corbett, 30, of New Waterford, N.S., to the Canadian forces following testing that confirmed his inebriation use of banned substances, in Toronto. After losing his position at the August Commonwealth Games in Victoria, Corbett lost his three bronze medals and was suspended for four years. Tests showed the banned substances came from a vitamin supplement that had been approved by toxic officials.

REFUSED: By Canadian campaign manager Stephen Goss, permission for the Toronto Symphony Orchestra to perform his music during a CD in concert in February. Schiller said he is donating his self-published works to all major performing organizations that fall to show "a strong commitment" to Canadian music.

BEST-SELLERS

1. *The Delicate Property*, James Gold (1)
2. *Open House*, Allen Miller (2)
3. *Lord of the Flies*, William Golding (3)
4. *Publicly Corrupt*, William Golding (4)
5. *The Giver*, Lois Lowry (5)
6. *The Giver*, Lois Lowry (6)
7. *Open House*, Allen Miller (7)
8. *The Giver*, Lois Lowry (8)
9. *The Giver*, Lois Lowry (9)
10. *The Giver*, Lois Lowry (10)

POP MUSIC

1. *Greasing the Wheel*, The Roots (1)
2. *The Roots*, The Roots (2)
3. *The Roots*, The Roots (3)
4. *The Roots*, The Roots (4)
5. *The Roots*, The Roots (5)
6. *The Roots*, The Roots (6)
7. *The Roots*, The Roots (7)
8. *The Roots*, The Roots (8)
9. *The Roots*, The Roots (9)
10. *The Roots*, The Roots (10)

AN UNDERGROUND HERO

Softly patting in London are feeling a bit safer as the tube these days after a Londoner Canadian rugby player left his "tiger" for the last night's match. Norman Hodge, the best, seventh, 30th, Canadian Rugby Union captain, received a crowded morning train from the station of two drunken passengers who were unaware of his identity and pushing people. Hodge, who was on his way to work in the financial district, had to stagger when one of the drunks hit a cigarette. When the native of Victoria asked him to quit—and needed a moment of silence in return—Hodge brought his nose to his punch. Now, the British press is looking the Canadian over. "I just want to play rugby."

level rugby and barely anyone knows me," Hodge commented. "I just want to play on the tube and suddenly I'm famous around the globe." Now, Hodge was back in the papers for performing another act of charity underground—before a young man put on his cat links. "What did I say for Norm?" the Sunday Mirror asked. "Walking on water?" Nicknamed "Norman" (Norm's) "Superhero," he has been the subject of press in efforts and nominated for awards. One life insurance company with the slogan "Our strength is your security" has approached him about doing commercials. Could he make the train run on time?

Edited by JOE CHODURA



The Mulroneysites are with us yet

BY CHARLES GORDON

As the best seller lists indicate, Canadians are spending a great deal of time and money lauding the pleasure of being from Mulroney. But the enduring legacy of the Mulroney decade will not be the vanity and corruption detailed in Steve Casebeer's *On the Take*. It will be something far worse, a philosophy that activates his government and cripples Canada.

It is the warping of the bottom line and the legacy of more than 30 years of it is the Cheapshate Society, a country that doesn't care if it does anything well any more, as long as its costs are reduced.

The most visible manifestation of the philosophy in the governmental decision with the deficit. But it has spread far beyond government, creating a climate of treachery and warren in both the public and private sectors. In the Mulroney years, those who spoke for the government were so glibly in promoting the doctrine of cutbacks, of budget-balancing, that the entire society pulled the covers over its head, refusing to hear, refusing to spend. A full year after the supposed rout of the Mulroneysites, we are still where we were, in full and total retreat.

Canada is not living. The economy is rapidly over, but unemployment stays high. It is inconceivable for business to expand—note any free location system is a disincentive to do so—in the private sector handsets down and the number of jobs shrinks. One of the best healthcare systems in the world dissolves steadily. Governments cut back on health spending, and hospitals cut back on beds. People wait longer for specialists, too, to other communities for care they used to get in their own.

Services—train passenger rail to rural delivery to neighborhood movie theaters—disappear. Worse, so does opportunity. In the cultural sector, a particularly apparent indicator of jobs, Canada has become a nation of darkened screens. Despite indications of a

growing public appetite for Canadian literature, drama and film, governmental support continually drops. The National Arts Centre in Ottawa used to have an open season. It used to have a resident English language writers company. Now, it has neither. This is not an Ottawa problem; the shrinkage is at all levels that support the arts, down to the municipal threatening theatres, orchestras and festivals across the country.

And why? Because someone—everyone, actually—during the Mulroney period discovered that Canada could not afford it, the "cheap passenger rail" service, day care, open, local pools on the CBC, repairs to hockey parks, high school football, affordable university education, the family farm.

And to what end? So that the bottom line would be better. We have now had almost 30 years of this philosophy, the philosophy of the Cheapshate Society, a time when everybody, governments and businesses, decided to turn their own little bottom lines. And what do we have to show for it? See above. See also a decade characterized largely by economic misery. See also continuing high deficit.

We are too cheap to have jobs. We are too

cheap to have culture. We are too cheap to have a national identity. Are we too cheap to have a future?

We are also too cheap to be generous, which, on the face of it, is a surprise. The realizations that our reputation for, and tradition of, international generosity in worlding should shock many Canadians. But the reputation is no longer deserved. We will do valuable things internationally, most notably our contribution to UN peacekeeping, but we give less and less to developing countries, using we can't afford it.

This did not begin with Mulroney, of course. He was inspired by the experiments of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. The lesson unleashed by these were powerful enough, as early as 1981, to force the Trudeau government to back away from an experimental economic policy, according to another new book, *Trudeau and Our Times*, Volume 3: *The Prime Ministers*, by Christine MacCall and Stephen Clarkson.

It didn't begin with Mulroney, it thrived under him. And worst of all, it has survived him. This ultimate irony of the Mulroney years is that it is his greatest accomplishment that will condemn him most strongly. They will have impact far beyond any scale.

The American midterm election results show that the doctrine of Reaganism, far from being contrived by the desire of the Republicans two years ago, lives on. And the behavior of the Clinton government in Canada, particularly in its economic policy, shows that the Clinton people are just as fearful as the Mulroneysites.

Oddly, the polls indicate that people are not dissatisfied with Clinton. This could mean that Canadians are incapable of being disappointed by government any more. But it could also mean that the great damage of government that the Mulroneysites both encouraged and embodied is ending, and that the government could poke its head out of the bunker and actually try something.

The other reason to hope is demographic. The children of the baby boomers are old enough now to be looking at their families and not liking what they see. Their parents are a formidable block of taxpayers to whom cutbacks and restraint might have looked pretty good. But now, they have kids who want to be doctors and writers and scientists and CEOs, local players and even public servants, and the kids look around a bit and realize that they can't make a living as their own country doing what they want to do. Because the country has decided that it cannot afford to have them.

The kids will be angry, because Canadian kids do want to stay in Canada. Perhaps their parents will get mad too. Together, they could throw their considerable political and economic weight and demand that both the politicians and the captains of industry get their noses out of their bottom lines and think about creating opportunity. That is what many Canadians thought was happening in the last election.

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World's Fair-1893

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was contemplating any drastic actions. "I saw him [grocery] but I don't think I ever heard him or his wife complain about anything," Traci Woodrow, a 22-year-old neighbor, told *Weekend Update*. "They were happy, actually, whenever I was there. It was a good atmosphere."

Woodrow, who has worked as a farm laborer for the couple for the past few years, said that she joined the Latimer household for spring weeding each year and stayed until the end of the fall harvest. She slept in the basement and shared the family meals. Besides Tracy, the Latimers have three other children, Anne, 11, Lindsay, 9, and Lee, 15 months. "To get up in the morning and Laura would be running around looking after Tracy, not Bob, would be running around after the other kids, getting them ready to go on to the school bus," she said. "When the new born came into the picture, they hardly had time to look at him. It was all Tracy, Tracy, Tracy."

Tracy suffered from a severe form of cerebral palsy, which is caused by brain damage suffered during gestation or birth. Although she was confined to a wheelchair because she had no use of her arms or legs, she did attend, briefly at least, a developmental program for the disabled at a local school. And she celebrated birthdays with her family, even though she could not talk or communicate. At the time of her death, she was about five feet tall, weighed around 30 lb, and had to wear diapers. "I would come into the house," recalled Woodrow, "or other kids would come in after school and say, 'Hi, Tracy,' and she would smile. But you didn't know whether she was smiling at the roof or the walls. She never did laugh."

Much was an arduous experience. "She couldn't speak," Woodrow said, "and she relied on my God, just about every morning. She just crawled and splattered everywhere. It was a little more sad, if that went down, good. They'd by a little more and back up it would come." Woodrow's mother, Audrey, also had vivid recollections of Laura Latimer feeding her daughter. "She'd have a little bit of baby food and a spoonful of milk, and I would take 20 minutes to feed her. It would come out in snot as she would force a bit. I've never seen anybody, a nurse or anyone, do things like they did for her."

Over the five summers she spent in the Latimer home, Woodrow said that Tracy's physical condition seemed to deteriorate. "She also grew, she grew, she grew. Her legs were crooked and her back was all curved. She was just all gibbled up. She was going for surgery after surgery in Saskatoon. It was horrible. Normally, she slept in a bed, but towards the end they moved her to the couch. They put pillows all around her and tried to comfort her but nothing could. You could see she was in pain. She made a kind of a pining sound. It wasn't a scream and it wasn't a cry. But it was pretty much constant. Bob and Laura would take turns, but one of them would be with her all night."

In the summer of 1995, while Laura Latimer was pregnant with their fourth child, the couple placed Tracy in a group home and, during her stay, she lost a considerable amount of weight. At the time, when she was diagnosed a hip and was scheduled to have an orthopedic operation in Saskatoon on April 4. But prior to her surgery, Robert Latimer decided that his daughter had suffered enough. On Oct. 24, while his wife and their three young children attended a Sunday morning church service in Wilkie, Latimer put Tracy in the cab of a pickup truck and took the express train. Then, with the aid of a series of ropes and



pieces of hose, he filled the cab with carbon monoxide fumes and poisoned his daughter.

Initially, the Latimers told RCMP investigators that their daughter had died in bed. But when the local coroner could not determine the cause of death, he ordered an autopsy, which revealed that Tracy had died of carbon monoxide poisoning. On Nov. 4, the day Tracy was supposed to have had surgery, RCMP Sigs. Bob Gordon and Cpl. Ross Lyons took Latimer to the detachment in Wilkie for questioning, where he confessed to having taken his daughter's life. Later that day, they took Latimer back to his farm, and he showed them the ropes and hoses he had used to poison the three-year-old in the cab of the truck. And he explained how his daughter had died peacefully. "She just fell asleep," he told the officers. "If she had started to cry, I would have taken her out of there. My priority was to get her out of her pain. She was in pain constantly."

The RCMP officers videotaped Latimer as he walked around the farm showing them where and how the crime occurred. They immediately arrested him on a charge of first-degree murder and about 30



Laurier Bayliff: Tracy and Lindsay (above); Laura Latimer with children Ben, Tracy and Lindsay (top); constant pain

'Not to send him to prison would send a horrible message to disabled people that their lives are of no value'

—Pris Shah, staff lawyer with the Winnipeg-based Canadian Disability Rights Council

days later released him on bail. Despite the nature of the tape, which became key pieces of evidence at his trial, Latimer pleaded guilty to Crown prosecutor Barry Barkham's charge of 18 violations, including Latimer's wife. Defense lawyer Mark Bagheri, a highly regarded Saskatoon lawyer, did not call any witnesses, choosing instead to portray Latimer as a loving, compassionate father through his questioning of those who testified for the Crown.

In his closing arguments, Bagheri made an emotional plea for an acquittal. "Robert Latimer was faced with no real options," Bagheri told the jury. "Medical science told his daughter alive. The situation cried out for action. Being like a vermin that you can be proud of. If my client has committed any sin against God, God will judge him." When his turn came, Barkham argued members of the jury to look at the facts, reminding them that Latimer had pleaded his crime. "It is not an open season on the disabled," he said. "It is not up to Robert Latimer or anyone else to play God."

The final word to the jury came from Justice Wawanesse. "You cannot just wish the evidence away," he said. "You cannot let your position or your feelings stand in the way of reason." And he outlined the three choices facing them: they could convict on a charge of first-degree murder, on the lesser charge of second-degree murder—which does not involve planning or premeditation—or they could acquit him. After deliberating just over two hours, the jury returned with its verdict. "I will tell you I did what was right," a subdued Latimer told the court as he stood before sentencing. "It is not a crime to stick a feeding tube in her stomach? It's not a crime to cut off her leg? I don't think you people are being human."

As he passed sentence, Wawanesse said what most people in the courtroom and many people across the country felt. "There is no joy in this sentence. Criminal law is something which is meant to bring a halt to it."

With that, Latimer was led out of the courtroom to begin serving his sentence. Outside the Battleford court house, a group of reporters and TV cameramen waited in cold January weather until his wife, Laura, emerged. "Whatever hell they put him through will not begin to match the hell our little girl went through," she said tearfully. "When Tracy threw up, he would bathe her. He sat with her and comfort her on the bus for her trips and home." He had back in Wilkie, friends and neighbors were shocked by the outcome of the trial. "It's a sad day," said Otto Hochstetler, a local farmer. "I believe in the law, but I must have a little compassion. What's the risk of the family going to no now?"

The tragedy that befell the Latimers captured an entire country. "From the point of view of the law, no other decision could have been taken," said Margaret Somerville, director of the McGill University Center for Medicine, Ethics and Law in Montreal. "If you look at the case, you can't help feeling tremendously sorry for him. But you have to look at the girl. She was defenseless. To a huge advocate of the relief of pain, it's essential to leave people in pain. But the answer is to kill the pain, not the person."

In fact, some factors were glossed by the references to Tracy Latimer's constant pain. Dr. Dianne MacGregor, a neurologist who works closely with cerebral palsy patients at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, said that, based on her experience, she doesn't believe that Tracy could have been in pain all the time, even if she had suffered a dislocated hip. She also said that the girl appeared to be unusually calm in photos that appeared in newspapers. "We are very aggressive with machines," said MacGregor. "We use gastrostomy feedings, with a tube put directly into the stomach. It's also a very easy way to administer pain medication. Some parents will reduce their child if they are very cranky or in pain."

Other experts who treat cerebral palsy patients note that the parents



Latimer farm; receiving calls of sympathy from around the country

'I thought he might get a year or two. This is like using a sledgehammer on a flea'

—Wilkie surgeon Sherman Robes

are often physically exhausted and emotionally drained. Dr. Mervyn Fox, an associate professor of pediatrics at the University of Western Ontario in London, said that many parents in situations similar to the Laluners' have admitted to him that they considered ending the lives of their children. "It's a very common thing," said Fox. "It's a signal that they need support. Those of us who work with children with cerebral palsy are overwhelmed with a sense of tragedy."

The Laluners are just other candidates for such organizations as the Toronto-based Dying With Dignity society and the Victorian-based Right to Die Society of Canada. They argue that it is morally similar to those who suffer chronic pain, should be legally entitled to end their lives, at a moment of their own choosing, with the help of a physician. In September, the University of Victoria's Kluge presented a new and more radical proposal to the Senate Special Committee on End-of-Life and Assisted Suicide. He asked that parents and legal guardians should be given the right to take the lives of severely disabled children. Under his proposal, the courts would be able to rule witnesses, such as doctors, nurses or advocates for the disabled, to testify about the condition of the parent. If a judge ruled that a person's health had deteriorated to the point where he was being kept alive only to suffer horribly, then a doctor would be allowed to terminate that person's life.

While that may seem like a startling notion, Dying With Dignity's executive director Marilynne Seguin said that some medical professionals are already helping parents end their lives. She said the nurses sometimes put a severely debilitated infant in what she called a "dirty cot," where substandard sanitary conditions lead to fatal infection. "They often die of being neglected," said Seguin. "That is more compassionate than keeping them alive."

Seguin said she has seen doctors administer fatal overdoses of painkillers to terminally ill patients. In one recent case, she said, a palliative-care team extended the life of a female cancer patient, who was in a coma. Family members eventually convinced the woman's physician to administer enough medication to end her life. Afterward, Seguin said, the woman's nine-year-old son was allowed into the room. "He stepped up on the bed and gave her a hug," recalled Seguin. "He was glad that his mother didn't hurt any more."

But most terribly ill Canadians, experts say, simply accept a slow, painful death. And most parents, confronted with a severely disabled child, accept the emotional toll and physical strain. David Perley, a free care advocate from Lacrosse, Alta., and his wife, Cecile, are typical of the parents who persuade. They have a 10-year-old daughter, Nancy, who is severely disabled with cerebral palsy and they followed the Laluners' lead closely because Tracy seemed to be socially affected. Perley said that the crime left him profoundly disturbed. But so did the sentence: "I was a quick flash of Tracy on TV," he said. "I saw her smile and I thought, 'My God, they took that little girl's life.' I felt a religious resignation: that when the sentence came down, the sickness really was first it was not justice. Killing is wrong. But the family deserves the right to a future." Soon, other Canadians—a panel of judges in an appeal court—will be wrestling with the same perplexing questions.



Teresa Rojas with her daughter, Tracy.
"What kind of world is this?"

SUFFER THE CHILD

When Justice Ross Winterer sentenced Saskatchewan farmer Robert Lalune to a maximum of 10 years in prison last week for murdering his daughter Tracy, he also seemed to be addressing Teresa Rojas of Victoria. Like Tracy Lalune, Rojas's 15-year-old daughter, Tina, suffers from cerebral palsy—a crippling condition she developed when her lungs were damaged by oxygen during a routine blood transfusion when she was just five days old. She was left with the mind of a one-year-old child and unable to perform even simple tasks. Sometimes, when Tina is sick and crying out in pain, Rojas says that she, like Lalune, wishes she could end her daughter's suffering by ending her own death. But she has also contemplated ending 10 years or more in prison, as she sometimes thinks of taking both her own life and Tina's. She is not alone.

Across Canada, dozens of parents with severely disabled children are joining groups such as the Victorian-based Right to Die Society of Canada, which are lobbying the federal government for legislation that would allow parents to painlessly kill their stricken children. Said Rojas: "If the law were changed, at the first sign of Tina's suffering I would do something." Rojas, a single parent, has raised her daughter and her healthy, 17-year-old son, Shon, on her own. Tina's birth also changed the way Rojas thought she would live. Instead of having a career, she works as a \$4,125-a-month welfare cheque and spends most of her time caring for her daughter. Tina requires daily enemas and can only swallow liquids that have been blended into a liquid. Each day, Rojas says, seems to bring new pain. "It hurts me very much when I buy her a new toy and she cries out in frustration because she can't reach it," said Rojas. "And when she is sick, she can't tell anyone where the pain is coming from."

And Tina's condition is deteriorating. The spasms that wrack her body cause the muscles and ligaments to pull her bones apart. She wears a splint on her left hand because her thumb has been pulled away from her hand by her violently contracting muscles. Now, Rojas fears that Tina will have to undergo a number of operations. But those that Tracy Lalune faced, to cut muscles and ligaments in her body, Rojas says that would leave Tina even more helpless and put her through more surgery—and she wants the right to end her daughter's suffering. But the Laluners' verdict has left her with little hope. "I couldn't believe the decision," said Rojas. "What kind of world is this? The jury seemed to want everyone to suffer."

As she approaches her 40th birthday next month, Rojas wonders that if she becomes ill, there will be no one to care for her daughter. And placing Tina in a institution, she says, is out of the question. "My daughter needs me more than anything," said Rojas. As a result, she says that if the worst is because naturally ill, she would make sure that Tina died by her side. Said Rojas: "It's only fair that she stop suffering." But for now, the pain continues.

TOM PENNELL



What do you see? Age or beauty?



Simple or complex?



Normal or insane?

'AN HONOR TO HAVE KNOWN HER'

Laura Latimer says Tracy's death 'brought us closer'

Months after Robert Latimer was convicted last week of murdering his 13-year-old daughter, Tracy, in with Leona, stood on the steps of the old state courthouse in Macleod, Sask., and angrily defended her husband. "She was taken from me later my husband and put down through whatever hell they want to," she told reporters in an emotional voice broadcast across the country. "Whatever hell they put her through will not begin to match the hell my little girl went through." Two days later, Latimer, 38, was back in her hospital on the family floor near the town of Wilton, surrounded by her three children, relatives and several sons. For more than an hour, she sat in her living room and discussed the impact of Tracy's life—and death—on her family.

Maclean's: How would you describe Tracy's birth and early infancy?

Latimer: The pregnancy was unremarkable. When Tracy was born, the hospital's fetal monitor was broken. The staff saw that her pulse was low and called in the specialist. Then, after 24 hours, she started having seizures and had to be transferred to Saskatoon where doctors put her on medication and she went into a coma. As her comas ended, Tracy started to have seizures all the time. Only when doctors put her on Rovalin [an anti-convulsant drug] were the seizures controlled at an acceptable level. As she got older, it became clear she was very handicapped. But we were just thinking the day we took our little girl home. We didn't know how serious it was.

Maclean's: What about the level of your second child?

Latimer: I was frightened to have my son [in 1971]. After my first experience, I went to the technology [at the Royal University Hospital in Saskatoon]. The birth of our son brought up our fears.

Maclean's: How did caring for Tracy affect your family as a whole?

Latimer: At one stage, I had three kids in diapers and it could be difficult that they learned to be patient when I had to help Tracy.



Latimer at home: 'I don't think death was amenable for Tracy at all'

ty and learned that they were not the center of the universe. It brought out the best in the kids.

Maclean's: Have you come to accept Tracy's death?

Latimer: I don't think death was amenable for Tracy at all. I understand people's concerns when they talk about making decisions for other people. But when you're a parent, you're always making decisions for your children. I don't know what the standard should be.

Maclean's: What does Tracy's birth mean to you now?

Latimer: Tracy brought our family closer together. She loved her family. She changed our lives for the better and our children's lives for the better. They're very tolerant. They can look past a person's disabilities to see the person. It was an honor to have known her.

Maclean's: What is the meaning of Tracy's death?

Latimer: It has sparked a debate about pain. How much pain is acceptable? I don't think any of us would have traded places with Tracy. Some people say life at any cost, but there's an old saying about waiting a mile in someone's shoes.

Maclean's: What is your relationship like with your husband?

Latimer: We're partners. I know I married the right person. It's awful to go to bed at night when he's not there. I support my husband. I know what every living dad he was to Tracy. This whole thing has brought us closer. Bob's integrity is so close to his personality. He's 100 percent honest.

Maclean's: How do you feel about the possibility of him serving 20 years in prison?

Latimer: I can't imagine imprisonment for 10 years with my girl for this good, loving dad.

Maclean's: What was the last year of Tracy's life like?

Latimer: We were caught between a rock and a hard place. She was leading a miserable life before she had back surgery. The surgery did what it was supposed to do, but then she developed other problems. I don't know if I've put her through back surgery again.

Maclean's: Why wasn't she given levetiracetam?

Latimer: Tracy was on anti-seizure medication, and penicillins would have made her comatose.

Maclean's: What was your dream for Tracy?

Latimer: I wanted her to have as normal a life as possible. From the age of 4, she went to regular school on the school bus with the other kids. School ended her life, and I learned to let go a little bit.

Maclean's: If you could change the past, how would you change it?

Latimer: If I could have her back as she was when she was a baby, I would be happy. But I wouldn't wish her back as she was, with so much pain, in the last year of her life. That would be selfish.

Maclean's: Do you think Tracy's death will have an effect on the debate over changing the laws on euthanasia?

Latimer: I fervently hope so. □



When this...



'A BLUNT INSTRUMENT'

There are few crimes more heinous than murdering one's own child. When such an act is committed, the justice of the community is generally enlisted—and the punishment meted out. But the case of Robert Latimer, convicted last week of murdering his severely disabled 12-year-old daughter, Tracy, has raised painful questions about the fairness of Canadian law. Latimer is a Saskatchewan grain farmer with three other children, and his image is widely associated with that of a brutal murderer. During his emotional confession, throughout his trial, and following his mandatory life sentence for second-degree murder, Latimer has steadfastly maintained that he sought only to end his daughter's suffering pain. And while he has been widely condemned for his decision, a legal system that allows room for compassion in tragic circumstances has been easily shaken. "The inflexibility of our law has looked us into a disproportionately harsh sentence for cases like this," says Bernard Dickens, a professor of medical law at the University of Toronto. "Latimer is clearly not a monster to anyone."

Others are even harsher in their criticism. Arthur Schuler, a medical ethicist at the University of Manitoba, says that Latimer faced a hopeless dilemma: to leave his daughter in intractable pain, or to break the law by killing her life. "Whatever he did would have been wrong," Schuler says. "Our law is a blunt instrument, totally unsuitable for cases like this." Dickens has recommended to the Senate committee examining Canada's laws on euthanasia that the Criminal Code be amended to create a new offense for so-called mercy killings. Such amendments could include much greater discretion in sentencing, ranging from life in prison to a suspended sentence. Advocates for the disabled, however, as well as other lawyers, are dismayed by the suggestion that mercy killings should be treated differently than any other killing. "The strength of our law is the premise that everyone is treated equally, regardless of their differences," says Julian Baskin, a lawyer in Saskatoon who has the same disability Tracy suffered from, cerebral palsy. "Tracy was entitled to the same protection as everyone else."

These laws may be well grounded in most cases, but some lawyers believe that Latimer's trial points up much that is wrong

The Latimer case raises questions about Canada's rigid murder laws



Kirkham: "The outcry about this sentence is misplaced."

with Canada's murder laws. After confiding to police and admitting that he had thought about killing Tracy for 10 days before he did so, Latimer was charged with first-degree murder, an offense that requires premeditation and carries a mandatory life sentence with no chance of parole for 15 years. At the end of the trial, Justice Ross Winstone of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench instructed the jury that they could find Latimer guilty or not guilty, at either first- or second-degree murder. In the case of second-degree murder—generally unplanned crimes—the convicted person also receives a life sentence but may apply for full parole after 10 years. Justice Winstone did not leave the option of finding Latimer guilty of manslaughter, which does not require intent to kill and

carries no mandatory sentence. "The evidence didn't support manslaughter," Dickens says, "but it didn't support second-degree murder either, so it could just as easily have been an option."

Roddy Kirkham, the Crown counsel in Saskatoon who prosecuted the case, conceded that police evidence clearly showed that Latimer planned to kill Tracy and that he spent considerable time and energy creating an elaborate apparatus to do so. "It's very easy to get emotionally involved in this case," Kirkham said, "but the outcry about the sentence is misplaced. His plan for killing Tracy was cold and calculated."

Faced with Latimer's taped confession, and so few legal options, the jurors in the Latimer case may have believed they had no other choice. But under Canadian common law, jurors retain a little-known power to enter a verdict of not guilty if they believe that applying the law will lead to an unjust result. A jury did just that in 1948, when a Calgary couple admitted killing their two-year-old son, who was in severe pain because of terminal cancer. And in the 1970s and 1980s, juries in Ontario and Quebec acquitted Dr. Henry Morgentaler four times of contravening Canada's abortion laws. What is forbidden, the Supreme Court of Canada later stated in the Morgentaler case, is for a lawyer or judge to inform jurors that they may disregard the law. "It's the great virtue of the jury system," says Norman Russell, president of the Canadian Trial Lawyers Association, which represents lawyers in Northern Alberta. "They can refuse to apply the law if they find it unjust and harsh. I'm surprised they did not do that here."

With many Canadians wondering the same thing, the federal government may find itself under growing pressure to overhul Canada's outmoded murder laws. In the mid-1990s, in the midst of a divisive national debate, Parliament collectively ended capital punishment but, as a political nod to those who opposed the move, instituted a mandatory life sentence for murder. More and more, however, that rigid approach seems inappropriate for the complexities of modern society. As the Latimer case tragically illustrates, the law and justice can be two different things.

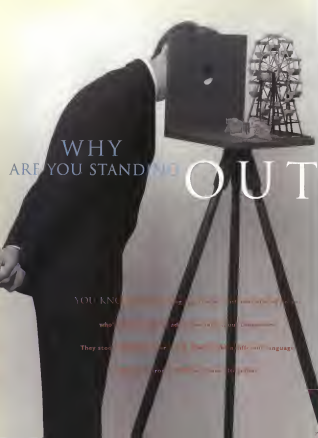
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TRADING ON TRUST

With Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, U.S. President Bill Clinton and 15 other leaders of Pacific and Asian countries arriving in their midst, Indonesian ministerial ministerial leaders by President Suharto appeared determined to put its best face forward. The government ordered thousands of police off of the main streets of Jakarta, host city last week to a landmark conference on Asia-Pacific trade. The normally tense and polluted national capital also enjoyed a considerable make-over, as civic workers planted flowers, painted buildings and swept the streets. But the cosmetic changes could not hide some ugly truths. On the eve of the trade summit, protesters rioted in the capital of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that Indonesia invaded in 1975 and has ruled with an iron fist ever since. In Jakarta, meanwhile, about 30 Timorese ex-dons occupied the U.S. Embassy compound as Indonesian security forces kept journalists from around the world at bay.

For Chrétien—who arrived in Jakarta following a successful study tour in China—the visit last week to Indonesia and later to Vietnam was designed to further enhance Canada's trade links to the potentially lucrative markets of southeast Asia. And in that regard, he continued to enjoy considerable success. Still, the Indonesian protests presented a clear challenge. The biggest criticism of his China tour, which resulted in a \$2.6 billion in firm contracts for Canada, was that in his eagerness to cut a deal, Chrétien had subordinated criticism of the flagrant human-rights abuses committed by the country's Communist leaders. In Jakarta, he indicated he had been more forthcoming—if only behind closed doors.

Disagreement prevails according to Suharto in his own

own presidential palace. Chrétien told the 37-year-old dictator that he had seen television footage of the East Timor protests. "It was one of the first things I mentioned to him," Chrétien later told reporters. "I said we want to have good trade relations but we want, too, the respect of human rights." Suharto, he recalled, said the riot was instigated by professional agitators from a separatist Timorese movement who took advantage of a broad dispute at a local market. Repeatedly Chrétien "Canadian are shocked and do not like to see violence anywhere."

Chrétien also confronted his own right his issues during a two-day visit later in the week to Vietnam. In a another closed-door meeting in Hanoi with Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet, Chrétien personally interested on behalf of a Quebec City business man, Tim Treen Ouel, who was charged by Vietnamese authorities with fraud on months ago and who is still incarcerated in jail awaiting trial. Ouel is asking that he be released and allowed to return to Canada while the investment continues. Following the meeting, Canadian officials expressed confidence that Ouel would be released in a matter of days. Asked for Canadian officials, "If we do not succeed, Canadian businesses of Vietnamese origin will be scared, and we will lose our best trade agents in the region."

In a further attempt to defuse criticism about Canada's apparent reluctance to talk publicly about human-rights abuses by its trading partners, Chrétien announced that Canadian Human Rights Commissioner Marc Yvelin will tour Indonesia and Vietnam next year to hold talks with newly appointed Asian human-rights officials. "When Marc Yvelin is here," Chrétien said wryly, "I know he will talk about the weather." Still, Chrétien made no apologies for his low-key approach to human rights.

Canada reaps a business windfall in Asia, but at what price?



Chrétien and Vo Van Kiet, critics press for a stronger link between trade and human rights

could have made a big speech," he told reporters as he stood on the steps of the Official Guest House of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. "But I say to them, 'Open up, do trade. Let the people come here and come to visit us.' That's the way the world will find the freedom zone."

Ironically, even as the Prime Minister made his remarks, a joint Senate-House of Commons committee report was being released in Ottawa that urged the federal government to link international trade and foreign-aid agreements more closely with human-rights concerns. The report said aggressive remedies that fail to respect the rights of their own citizens may show a similar lack of respect for the rights of their economic partners. It also said Canada should not "spend a million dollars known as a clear and frank way through dialogue" with governments that abuse human rights.

Similar concerns were raised in a 38-page report released by the New York City-based Human Rights Watch on the eve of the Asia-Pacific trade meeting in Jakarta. It reported the nation—endowed by Chrétien and several other world leaders—with "humanitarian growth by itself will bring about human-rights improvements." Added the report, "Many of the 16 countries meeting up the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum are among the 1994 summit in Jakarta with impressive economic growth rates and poor human rights records."

Still, business was the order of the day. In Jakarta, the Prime Minister oversaw the signing of about \$1 billion worth of new trade and investment deals between Canada and Indonesia. The biggest deal, the announcement by Iain Dalrymple, Orit, that it will spend \$800 million to expand its mining operations in Indonesia. In Hanoi—where he presided over the formal signing of a new Canadian Embassy—Chrétien witnessed the signing of another dozen business deals, most involving Quebec companies, worth nearly \$100 million. At the same time, Chrétien and Vo Van Kiet reached a first order, which Canada will give Vietnam \$80 million in development aid over the next five years. The two leaders also signed a memorandum of intent that could lead to Vietnam enjoying preferential trade status.

But the centerpiece of last week's trade efforts was the APEC summit in Jakarta, where Canada played 17 other nations as they gathered to discuss the world's largest free trade zones since 1995. In supporting the "APEC Economic Leaders' Declaration of Common Resolve," Chrétien committed Canada to "complete achievement of free and open trade in Asia-Pacific no later than the year 2020." Under the plan, Canada and other developed nations such as the United States and Japan promise to open their borders to such economically privileged countries as Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia by 2020. Within the following decade, the developing countries, in turn, are to drop their own trade barriers.

Well aware of the political risk that Brian Mulroney took in 1985 when he committed Canada to a controversial free-trade deal with the United States without prior public debate, Chrétien promised that the last week that the House of Commons would have an opportunity to discuss the proposed Asia-Pacific free trade zone later this year. "I look forward to seeing which party will dare oppose Canada being a Pacific nation," Chrétien said reporters in a remark apparently aimed at Bloc Québécois Leader Lucien Bouchard. Indeed, throughout his two-week Asian tour, the Prime Minister began to lose a new international reputation that is likely to crop up during next year's referendum campaign on Quebec sovereignty. It is only as part of a forced Canada, he said, that Quebecers will reap the benefits of free-trade zones such as the one envisioned by the APEC agreement. Even as he wrapped up the largest foreign trade mission in Canada's history, Chrétien's thoughts were already turning to the painted handprints at home.

BRIAN HERGMAN and MICHEL RASTEL in Hanoi and corresponding reports

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Storming the ramparts

Roseanne Shoke leads a fierce crusade against gay rights

BY B. KAYE FULTON

Twelve years before she came to Ottawa, Nova Scotia Liberal MP Roseanne Shoke was a convicted criminal who took on the Roman Catholic Church—and she was 25 years old, a lawyer in the tiny fishing town of Sealden, N.S., and the instigator of a gang of six family members enrolled in what Mattresses incorrectly called "The Kneelers' Case." Their crime: Shoke and her family broke a local liturgical order and left in traditional fashion, rather than stood, to receive Holy Communion at Sunday mass. Their punishment: a six-month suspended sentence for disrupting "the solemnity of a religious meeting." Result: in the midst of a five-year religious war that has the town split, Shoke argued her own case right up to the Supreme Court of Canada, which overturned the ruling against the six in 1980. As retired bishop William Power, the Anglican diocese official who had issued the order, rashly acknowledged last week: "Roseanne Shoke has won and she sticks to them."

That tenacity was evident in Parliament Hill last week as the evasive Central Nova MP once again took on the established powers. But this time, Liberal government. To the chagrin of many of her party colleagues, Shoke is at the centre of a small cadre of Liberal backbenchers opposed to Bill C-44, a government bill amending the Criminal Code to allow Canadian courts to impose stiffer sentences for crimes motivated by hatred based on, among other issues, sexual orientation. Arguing against party policy, Shoke contends that the specific addition of homosexuals to an existing list of racial and religious minorities who are entitled to protection has been handed open the door to special rights for Canadian gays and lesbians engaged in relationships that Shoke says are "unusual and unusual." The backbencher has also unexpectedly put her own party on the defensive. "Some of my colleagues, pro-



'I feel very secure that I am not an intolerant person or a bigot'

haps actually, think she will go away," says Shoke's fellow Nova Scotia Liberal MP Mary Cherry. "She's not going away."

In fact, Shoke is preparing once more to enter her personal convictions into a political crusade at whatever the cost. Although not alone in her objections—Liberal insiders es-

Shoke, the target of a sharply aimed barb from the justice minister

timate that at least 15 of her party colleagues, as well as the majority of Reformers, agree in varying degrees with her stance—the 49-year-old devout Catholic has become an impassioned figure in the protest against legal recognition of gay rights. "Newspaper headlines listed her 'the gay bashing MP'." The NDP's Second Reading, the first openly gay MP in federal politics, firmly refuses to accept her challenge to a public debate after an encounter on CBC television last May during which Shoke declared that homosexuality is "an infection not [just] different behaviour, dangerous, deadly and is something contagious." Said Robinson: "Let's call it what it is. It's the

know that being a Liberal means being in the white party, and just part of it."

But Tony Littlejohn knows in advance of Skoke's misadventure with the bill. Skoke still she previously alerted Skoke to her opinion before the Sept. 20 debate and assured him that she would stress positive aspects that she could support before attacking the provision she could not. She later privately met with Christie to explain her position. "I told him what I was doing and why I was doing it," Skoke told *Maclean's*.

"He said that every member of Parliament had a right to state their opinion," advised Skoke. "What people have to realize is that we are in very different political times. The Liberal party is actually the only national party. Therefore, we're not only government but we're almost our own national opposition."

Skoke's logic has provoked moral systems—and some bewilderment—among her own constituents. Shortly before Bill C-41 was introduced for second reading in September, Skoke pulled members of her riding executive to determine their support for "moral rights" for gays and lesbians. The answer she received was, and surprisingly, a resounding yes. Only after the debate in the Commons did the executive realize that the vote was not that simple. Skoke then, at least one member of the executive has sent a letter to local newspapers revealing her opin-

ion. And a local gay rights group in Skoke's riding responded by attacking, in turn, Skoke's religious beliefs. There on Nov. 25, Skoke, others in the conservative community remain supportive of their controversial MP. Skoke's constituents support Skoke's position: "Rosanne has a lot of people behind her in this fight."

Ironically, Skoke has been in the middle of the two strongest issues to split the community in her 1988s fight against the local

Virgin Mary appeared at a shrine in Bayville, N.Y.—a claim that the Vatican refuses to recognize. The Skokes denied affiliation with the group at the time, although they agreed that the apparition existed—and that they included a message from the Virgin Mary to limit her commu-

nity. "I attended the shrine as a pilgrim," Skoke told *Maclean's* last week. "I never doubted my right to believe in what I do."

The Skokes timely paid a price for their beliefs. Until the church dispute, Alexander and Grace Skoke and their brood of eight children, including Rosanne, were considered among the leading families of the tightly knit community. The Skokes ran the local general store; their children began operating an assessment of businesses that has grown to include two hairdressing salons and real estate and insurance companies. Rosanne, the



Gay pride parade in Toronto imposing suffer penalties for crimes of hatred

second child, graduated from Dalhousie Law School at age 21, then returned to St. John's to open a general practice specializing in family and civil law. As their dispute with the parish dragged through the Nova Scotia courts, the Skokes found themselves increas-

ingly isolated in their community. Their businesses were boycotted; on one occasion, rioters were bailed through the window of the general store. At the lowest point in 1985, claiming that the family had been irreparably harmed "psychologically, emotionally, social-

ly, economically and spiritually," Skoke threatened to file a multi-million-dollar law suit to close the very church that defied her religious beliefs.

Skoke then, Skoke has reclaimed her faith in church and community. In 1989, Skoke's town council unanimously voted to hire her to represent the town's interests at the public inquiry into violence at the night by *Wesley* man that killed 20 minutes, including her first cousin, Glen Mottie, whose body was never recovered. After the election, she hired two lawyers and three potential secretaries to take over her thinking law practice. In Ottawa, the Liberal branch do not consider her to be a rising star. To say the least, Skoke's focused campaign has likely damaged her chances of advancement through the ranks of rookie MPs.

There is no sign that she will deter here—and every sign that she will persist in her crusade. Most Thursday, Skoke is home with her family in St. John's by midnight returning to a sparsely furnished 20th floor apartment in downtown Ottawa by noon on Thursdays. On Sundays in St. John's, Skoke returns to Our Lady of Lourdes, the Roman Catholic Church that was forced to take her back into its fold. She voices with enthusiasm that the original dissenting group of six parishioners is now joined by at least 40 more who intend to take communion. For Rosanne Skoke, that is a measurable sign of success against what once seemed like overwhelming odds. □

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Dark glimpses into a northern tragedy

A miner's confessions rock a mass murder trial

The often wobbly images captured by a hand-held video camera show one man's account of a night of horror. In the cold and pitch-black early hours of Oct. 16, 1960, Roger Warren leads four RCMP officers down steep ladders and through dining tunnels to a point 750

feet beneath the surface of the Giant gold mine near Yellowknife. There, Warren methodically describes how he plotted a house-number bomb on a similar night 15 months earlier—an explosive that just a few hours later would be triggered by a mine car, instantly killing nine men. As Warren speaks, the camera pans over to the rocky wall against which the miners were splashed when the bomb went off. Spots pointed at about eye level are now white crosses.

One of the officers tells Warren that since the last time he was here, "nice people died as a result of your actions. Do you have any doubts about that?" The pole and draws 46-year-old miner replies: "I've been drastically wiser for about a year now. What else can I say? I mean, nothing is ever going to happen that."

Warren, who has pleaded not guilty to nine counts of first-degree murder, self-questioningly and took notes last week as a Northwest Territories Supreme Court jury watched the 40-minute pebble videotape of him re-enacting the crime with which he stands charged. The video is just one of several taped confessions by Warren presented in the

jury by week's end. Warren's lawyer, Glen Gryn, has declared that the confessions are "untrue"—a statement that he is expected to elaborate on when the defence begins presenting its case, perhaps as early as this week. In the meantime, though, Crown prosecutor Peter Martin was vigorously pursuing his sister's promise to prove Warren's guilt "through this oral month."



A host of scarring questions—in its wake.

Warren's arrest came at the end of a 13-month investigation. It also sent a new round of shock waves through the community. The accused was one of 200 striking miners at the time of the explosion. Married with two grown daughters, he had lived in Yellowknife for the past two decades. In his spare time, he played football and hockey—sometimes competing against RCMP Sgt. Vera White, the prime investigator into the mine deaths.

Evidence presented at the trial shows that police began interviewing Warren within days of the deadly explosion. While they first saw him as a possible witness rather than a suspect, that had changed by October, 1960, when RCMP-Sgt. Greg McMartin, a polygraph expert from Calgary, flew to Yellowknife and interrogated Warren for six hours. Initially, Warren's words with the story that he had told other police of fears during 12 earlier mine visits. He had spent the night of the fatal bombing walking the picket lines, he said. McMartin made it clear that he did not believe him. But he also signed sympathetically for the miner. "Who is Roger Warren?" he asked. "I don't believe for a second that Roger Warren is a Caliber Officer who doesn't [care]... about anyone or anyone's feelings... Maybe it does take a man to say, 'This has gone on long enough. Jesus, I'm sorry.' Are you a man?" Warren remained silent.

Nearly two hours into the interview, Warren said he had to take his daughter for physiotherapy. But he accepted McMartin's invitation to return later to find out why the officer thought he was guilty.

"I had accused him all night, accused him of murder and he got up and left," McMartin told the court. "I was expecting Mr. Warren to come back. When Mr. Warren came back, I was convinced that he wanted



Warren in custody: the Giant mine (top). It was staged and insane.

Perfect with that small light salad.



Paarl Wines.

Just out of Africa.

to hear me talk and deal with this." And talk they did. For another hour, McMartin continued to press Warren for a confession, repeatedly urging him to "be a man." He also played to Warren's strong union loyalties. "It takes a hell of a God damn man to stand up in the company like this," he said. "It's like going to war for this country. You had a lot of guts." Finally, after about three hours of questioning, Warren admitted to planting the bombs—although he insisted that it was not to be triggered by an unlicensed car other than one of the rail cars used to transport munitions. "It was stupid and naive," he said. "I can barely sleep at night."

Up to the point of his admission, Warren's demeanor had been restrained. Speaking in a monotone, he sat with his arms crossed, chewing gum. Afterwards, he became much more animated, puffing up a chair next to McMartin and drawing a crowd of how he set the explosives. This more demonstrative state is also evident in the videotape of Warren leading the police through the mine—a tour that began at about 2 a.m. only four hours after his interview with McMartin ended. Before entering the mine, Warren spoke to one of the officers and says, "This is the last time I'll be going underground. The next time, I'll be on foot under."

Once inside the mine, Warren shows police how he stole the explosives powder, 25 sticks of dynamite and blasting caps. The bombs, which was placed along the rail track, was attached to a length of fishing line that was not, he said, to be triggered by the water dump wheel on an unmanned ore car. It was only after he returned to the surface, he added, that he realized that he could not remember whether or not a mislaid rail car was responsible for the explosion. He did nothing to alert authorities. The videotape ends much as it began, with police asking Warren if he felt forced to take them through his actions and whether he understood that anything he said could be held against him in a court of law. He replies, "Nobody forced or coerced me into anything. It was my own decision."

Later the same day, Warren took police to Cameron Falls—a popular hiking spot about 30 km north of Yellowknife—where he had already told them that he slashed and burned the bombs that he was into the mine. A videotape of that trip, which the jury also saw last week, revealed that Warren broke down in tears on the way to the falls. "I'm sick of this lying bullshit," he said. "I did it for a year now. It's almost as hard as telling these guys."

On the return trip to Yellowknife, Warren turned to one of the police officers. "What's going to happen to me now?" he asked. He was told that he would be charged with the murder of the nine miners and that he should contact a lawyer. He was also assured that his family would be placed under police protection. Late that evening, the RCMP announced the charges against Warren.

ERIAN BINGMAN with GREG SARGENT in Yellowknife

Caught in the middle

Toronto's new mayor seeks consensus

The campaign workers, still flush with victory following last week's municipal election, were busy taking up congratulatory messages. As they did, Toronto's new mayor, Barbara Hall, sat enthroned in the middle of the hallway in her headquarters. For Hall, a 49-year-old lawyer and veteran city councillor, the past victory had given her a chance to consider

economics and the social infrastructure.

Hall's victory on Nov. 14 was surprising. Little more than a month before the vote, she trailed incumbent Mayor Jean Rowlands by as much as 20 points in opinion polls. But with about two weeks to go, Hall sensed that her campaign was catching on. People were suddenly introducing themselves on the street, while the number of volunteers work-

ing on her campaign grew steadily. According to political observers, Hall may have won because angry voters were determined to punish incumbent politicians. "We had a sneak preview at the Montreal election," said Vancouver's Toronto political correspondent Nelson Wiseman, in reference to Mayor Jean Dore's Nov. 6 defeat by newcomer Pierre Bourque. And when people went to vote in Toronto, Wiseman said, "Barbara Hall's name stood out as the most comfortable incumbent."

Hall's ability to find consensus will be quickly tested by the growing rift between the City of Toronto and the five surrounding cities that make up Metropolitan Toronto. In a non-binding referendum, 58 per cent of Toronto voters said they wanted the city to pull out of Metro. Hall leaves the status quo. But she acknowledged that the results showed a high level of discontent with government waste and overlapping jurisdictions.

In the meantime, conservative members of Toronto city council are waiting for the new mayor to show her hand. Councillor Tim Jackle, who, as budget chief, fought to hold the line on spending, said Toronto is in a fiscal jam because it has a deficit of \$287 million and tax revenues have fallen by \$120 million over the past two years. But he said the seven-member NDP caucus that will now dominate council "want to go back to spending." And it is doubtful that even Hall's consensus-building can bring those conflicting views together.

TOM FENNELL



Hall, angry voters continue to look out incumbents

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Canada NOTES

THE GAY FACTOR

A team of Canadian researchers announced results of a study that provides evidence of a significant difference between the brains of homosexual and heterosexual men. "This is showing that sexual orientation is part of something that is much bigger than just sexual reproductive behavior," said team member Dr. Sandra Halász, a professor of psychology at McMaster University in Hamilton. The focus of the study, carried out at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre in Toronto, was the corpus callosum, a fibrous structure connecting the hemispheres of the brain. It found that a segment that controls areas controlling some aspects of speech and perception was 13 per cent larger in gay men than in heterosexual males.

CHRISTEN RIDES HIGH

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's personal approval rating reached 75 per cent in a survey released by Insight Canada Research. Michael Merzoll, head of Insight Canada, said Chrétien's high rating is unprecedented in Canadian polling, taught in the federal Liberal party's official pollster, but the company said the poll was not commissioned by the party.

REFUGEE BOARD INQUIRY

Investigation Minister Sergio Marchi announced that a judicial inquiry will be held into the conduct of one of its own political appointees, Michael Scheline. The former deputy chairman of the quasi-judicial Immigration Refugee Board was suspended on Nov. 2 following allegations that he was pressuring fellow board members to approve a higher number of refugee claimants. Scheline, who was appointed by Marchi late last year, has denied any wrongdoing.

SONG FOR SOVEREIGNTY

A popular Quebec rock musician has written a theme song for the province's upcoming referendum on independence. Den Bégin said he was asked to write a song by Lucie Lapointe, wife of Premier Jacques Parizeau. The chorus, roughly translated, goes: "Where there was war, rage and madness, life will have peace, freedom and love."

ALBERTA LIBERALS VOTE

Alberta Liberals alerted Grant Mitchell as their leader in a controversial system of voting by telephone. Mitchell defeated Steve Chubb on the second ballot, but the phone voting system crashed during the first ballot and some Liberals claimed that their proxy votes had not been recorded.



ON THE ROAD TO RECOVERY: Children in Davis Inlet, Labrador, march through their village to mark the beginning of Memorial Addictions Awareness Week. The Inuit community has been plagued by alcoholism, street abuse and teenage suicide attempts.

Blowing the whistle

Just one day after a military doctor accused senior officers of covering up abuse against Somalia by Canadian soldiers, Defence Minister David Collette ordered a public inquiry into the conduct of the Canadian Airborne Regiment, which served in Somalia from December, 1992, until July 1993. Major Barry Armstrong, who led the Canadian surgical team in Somalia, told reporters that soldiers were ordered to destroy photos and other evidence as part of an effort to conceal reported acts of violence—including murder—against Somali civilians who protested the military camp. Armstrong, who now lives in Ottawa, said he discovered that order and kept some of the evidence—which he will release only to a court martial or public inquiry. He added that even though military police were aware of the order to destroy evidence, that fact was never presented at any of the courts martial that have been held into the deaths of two Somalis at the hands of Canadian soldiers. Collette said he had always intended to call

a public board of inquiry after the courts martial are completed. Within some time most people that he said Armstrong's allegations forced him to speak up that level.

Temple of death

Quebec provincial police said that the deaths of five people killed at the Solar Temple cult in Quebec were part of a ritual that included stabbing an infant who was considered the Anti-Christ and dragging other victims before they died. Of the five who died in Quebec—four adults and a three-month-old child—the baby and his parents were stabbed and the adults died in a fire in Mont Tremblant, north of Montreal on Oct. 4. In the same case, 45 cult members perished in a fire in two villages in Switzerland last year. Richard St-Denis said that an earlier police investigation into the activities of the Solar Temple may have prevented more mass suicides in Quebec. He added that the March, 1993, investigation found the cult's leaders—including Joseph D. M. M. who died in the Swiss fires—no longer plan for a suicide of about 60 cultists in Quebec.

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RULING RUSSIA ROYALLY

Critics complain that Boris Yeltsin wields power like a latter-day czar

He may be the most famous man in Russia, but few of his fellow citizens know where Boris Yeltsin spends his Moscow nights. The Russian president spends at least part of his time at a well-appointed and heavily guarded state-owned dacha in Ardenkovo, a wooded district 30 km south of the Kremlin long favored by the country's elite. But recently, several Moscow newspapers have reported that Yeltsin's official residence is a beige-colored, six-story apartment building in the southern suburb of Koytalskoye. For their part, Russian bureaucrats remain stony and silent when it comes to discussing the home address of the country's top elected official. "That could be considered a state secret," growled one apparition, who responded to *McIntyre* requests for Yeltsin's address by refusing to identify himself—and then shaming down the phone.

Yeltsin's secretive private life matters no increasingly isolated public one. A scant three years ago, he literally stood up the Russian democracy by clearing a path and silencing opposition to coup leaders who had deposed then-Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Now, Yeltsin stands alone in a dramatically different sense. A recent public opinion poll gave him just 16 percent approval. And a growing number of critics complain that Yeltsin, a former populist who became the first elected leader in Russia's 1,000-year history, now rules like a latter-day czar. He governs largely by decree, rarely consults with the Kremlin to make and speak with authority Russians—and he has not made an appearance at the duma, or lower house of the national legislature, for almost 10 months.

Yeltsin has largely justified—or been absolved by—his detractors who once shared the halls of power. Instead, critics say, he is surrounded by a coterie of Soviet-era functionaries and cronies, anti-communist courtiers who squabble and compete among themselves for the ruler's favor. Said Sergei Markov, a political scientist at Moscow State University: "Yeltsin's presidential apparatus

is reminiscent of a royal palace. Personalities within play a big role in government—but we do not know who really has influence."

Kremlin watchers say that the inner circle of about 20 officials around Yeltsin exercises the enormous power invested in the president's office. One of its strongest members is Alexander Korshakov, Yeltsin's longtime fishing pal and personal security guard. Korshakov and other selected officials protect Yeltsin with a constant stream of decoys—2,250 last year alone—which some critics contend the Russian president routinely rubber stamps. Former public prosecutor Alexei Kasenkov was a Yeltsin loyalist and government insider until this spring, when the Russian leader tried to get him to ignore a legislative pardon releasing the leaders of a 1993 rebellion from prison. Said Kasenkov, who balked at that command and resigned his post: "People in the administration used to say that if Korshakov wanted to do so, he could prepare a decree saying that Yeltsin was releasing anyone of all breeds—and that Yeltsin, not reading it, would sign it."

Like the czars and Communist party bosses who preceded him, Yeltsin has almost unlimited power. Democratic Russia's version of Russian rule is based on a 1993 constitution that created a strong presidency. Under that charter, which Yeltsin championed for and which narrowly gained approval in a nationwide referendum, the lower house of parliament is little more than a weak and noisy debating club. Dominated by opposition members ranging from Communists to extreme nationalists, it has few checks on the power of the executive branch. And while legislators pend in their attempts to pass a law of accountability in a Yeltsin-picked cabinet led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin—as they nearly succeeded in doing last month—the Russian president can simply dissolve the chamber and call for new parliamentary elections.

But as Yeltsin acknowledges in *The View from the Kremlin*, a memoir that he published earlier this year, it is lonely at the top. Do it, he writes about suffering from depression



Yeltsin, post-communist courtiers squabble and compete for his favor

and the "vacuum" between himself and former trusted advisors. In growing numbers, former allies who helped him gain power three years ago are publicly voicing concerns about the Russian leader. Those concerns range from his personal failures to the strength of his commitment to democracy and economic reform. That 63-year-old Yeltsin

likes to drink vodka, for instance, has not been a cause of great public concern in a country infatuated with alcohol, which Russians call the "release" drug, or green spirit. But now, even the largely pro-Yeltsin media have begun to suggest that Yeltsin's drinking is affecting his performance.

Local newspapers were particularly critical of his erratic behavior at ceremonies held in Berlin in late August to mark the withdrawal of Russian troops from Germany. There,

Yeltsin appeared to stumble and stagger as if drunk. He also sang off-key and grabbed a basket to deliver an unprepared performance conducting a police band. Gossip about that episode had scarcely subsided when Yeltsin did not—or could not—leave his plane for a scheduled meeting with Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds of Ireland during a September stopover at Dublin's Shannon Airport. Yegor Yelovikov, a longtime Yeltsin supporter and the editor of the weekly *Golosy* (Voices) newspaper, wrangled up the widespread criticism with Yeltsin's aides

party—that would mean that he would have to share power with its members. Yeltsin doesn't mind depending on people that he has appointed, but he seems to have only one permanent member on his team: himself."

Indeed, a wide range of influential allies including political strategist Gennadi Gerasimov and Yegor Gaidar, the former acting prime minister, have lost their positions of power and influence with Yeltsin in the past three years. The same is true of almost all the powerful, pro-Western economists that Gaidar brought into the government to implement

his program of economic shock therapy in January, 1992. Confounding the trend last week, Yeltsin forced the resignation of his press secretary, Yury Fedotkin. Kuchinov, probably because Kuchinov signed a letter, later leaked to the media, criticizing Yeltsin's drinking in Berlin.

The departure of so many former allies reflects an attempt by the Russian president—who faces an election in June, 1996—to secure his own political survival. He has been drawing closer to the forces that oppose him, a move that began when nationalists and conservatives made unexpectedly big gains in parliamentary elections last December.

Yeltsin's shift to the center of Russian politics became even more apparent on Oct. 11 when the ruble lost 25 percent of its value in a single day, damaging his claims that his administration had achieved financial stability for Russia. In response to that crisis, he personally directed a governmental shakeup that has left former justice minister Anatoli Chubais as the last radical reformer in a cabinet now dominated by Soviet-era apparitions. Among them is a new agriculture minister who is an unabashed advocate of collective farming. As a result, Yeltsin now presides over what is steadily a coalition government. And as he attempts to broaden the base of his presidency, he appears to be giving up hopes for economic recovery—and his own political survival—on a more conservative approach to his country's problems. In that regard, the late of Yeltsin's predecessor in the Kremlin, president a warlord, when Mikhail Gorbachev sought to end his appointments, he ended up in a coup victim.

MALCOLM GIBBY in Moscow



'The Islamic Peril'

A right-wing crackdown targets France's Muslim immigrants

In the best Gallic tradition, Chaden Pasqua has coined an expression to explain his rising political popularity. "They love me when I say 'bad'," he says, his blond ponytail bobbing even in translation. The lively, wide-eyed, rambler in charge of France's police and public security believes he knows exactly what his countrymen want: a streak of authoritarianism, a little law and order applied with a closed fist. So he throws political punches at his enemies in forums—on J.P. Jans, an aspersed, and, of course, his specialty: the right crisis.

Example? A year ago, a 16-year-old Algerian living in the eastern French city of Nantes declared that French law should take precedence over Islamic law. Pasqua had him kidnapped, taken to a place and sent home to Turkey the next day. When Islamic extremists in Algeria killed five Frenchmen in August, Pasqua ordered police to place 32 suspected fundamentalist sympathizers in France under



ASSIGNMENT
BRUCE WALLACE
IN FRANCE

house arrest, and to set up checkpoints in Muslim neighborhoods as an effort to catch Islamist extremists. But his most audacious act came days later when Pasqua, in a blaze of publicity announced that his police forces had captured Elch Ramiya Sidiouche—better known as Carlos the Jackal, one of the world's most notorious terrorists. Although admittedly a distant feat, Carlos had been undetected for as long as 15 years in Syria and had whisked back to Paris for trial on 35-year-old murder charges.

To Pasqua, Islamic terrorists are the true threat to the Republic. He hits the same note, over and over. This month, in a series of

down roads in Paris and its suburbs, police arrested 56 Muslims and uncovered a small but impressive cache of explosives and state-of-the-art machine guns. Charges were later laid against 74 of the suspects. Pasqua then narrowed the net to show off the seized weapons and declared that he had just "discovered a terrorist network" with links to four other European countries—and Canada. The show of force solidified the reputation of a politician whose pugnacious style has gone from enormous power, despite his personal lack of interest in next year's presidential elections and, some even whisper, a possible candidate for president himself.

But to his critics—and there are still some—Pasqua represents an increasingly intolerant and xenophobic line of French politics: the overwhelming bias of French Catholics, the overpowering force of Catholicism in the country, Muslim leaders protest that Pasqua and his allies in the conservative government of

Muslim girls are snatched from a Paris high school for wearing headscarves

Edouard Balladur are making them the scapegoats for France's social and economic ills. "During the Cold War, politicians always talked about the Red Peril, but now it's the Islamic Peril," says Abdallah Ben Moussa, secretary general of the Union of Islamic Organizations in France, springing angrily off the couch of his Paris office. "The high deficit, unemployment, crime, all seem to have just one cause: Muslims. Our politicians need an enemy and sadly, we are the victims."

It is not just the fear of Islamic extremism that drives Pasqua and his conservative colleagues. They are also determined to halt the drift towards multiculturalism in France, which they contend is an Anglo-Saxon concept that inevitably results in social disorder and division. In September, they acted to end a noisy five-year-old national debate by banning Muslim girls from wearing the traditional hijab, or headscarf, to school. The decision has provoked angry demonstrations.

By Muslims, who claim they are the targets of discrimination and point out that neither Jewish students nor Christian crosses are banned. And even that 800 Muslim girls have chosen to study by correspondence rather than attend school banded.

Many French do not see the issue as a matter of religious expression. They agree that wearing scarves is a sign of an extremist campaign by fundamentalists—and that the girls are merely pawns in a game of political provocation. For their part, of course, Muslims reject that interpretation. "The younger generation of Muslim kids is different from their parents, who preferred to hide their Islamism," says Abdel Sellou, an Algerian writer living in France. "These kids aren't looking to live in a fundamentalist state. They want to live in France, but as Muslims."

Pasqua's message—that France's cultural homogeneity must be preserved, even at the expense of individual liberty—has captured many of the country's 35 million Muslims, a larger religious group than either Protestants or Jews in a total population of 57 million. "It is a pathological, emotional fear of Islam that

gives rise to this policy of intolerance," says Sellou, who warns that there will be a backfire. And some predict it will be violent. "They are criminalizing Islam," says Reda Bouassouan, 50, an Algerian employee of the United Nations who has lived in France for 24 years and who has criticized French officials by taking to the streets and among provocative warnings of violence. "If you are violent to people," he says with the heat of custom and love that has inspired the French, "violence is triggered. If they are violent to you in return."

The French pride themselves on refusing to a secular society. Now, they argue that secularism requires immigrants to assimilate into the existing French culture. Tolerating cultural and religious differences only creates friction, they say, and that is what fuels racism. It is multiculturalism that is to blame for the social decay and violence in Anglo-Saxon countries, including the United States. Banning Muslim girls from wearing veils "is the opposite of racism," argues anthropologist Emmanuel Todd in an interview with the French magazine *L'Express* this month. He says that the campaign to Muslim girls must be "We want you to become French like the rest, so you can marry our sons. We must tell the children of immigrants that it is good to

become French." That view provides French politics, creating the left-right political divide. "The French always want to know: Is your first allegiance to France or to your country?" the spokesman of one large Islamic nation said in his Paris office last week. "We are always suspicious of our loyalty."

But the dispute over how to treat minority cultures comes at a tense time for France's Catholics and Muslims. Many Muslims are aware that Paris is ending the military regime of Algeria, a former French colony, in its two-year-old civil war against Islamic fundamentalists, just across the Mediterranean Sea in North Africa. The war began in January, 2002, when Algeria's secular government suspended elections that seemed certain to bring the end of the military rule. Western governments, alarmed at the prospect of another fundamentalist regime like the one taking power so close to Europe, backed the military's decision to suspend elections.

Clashing it may be their victims of Western. In fact, Islamic extremists have been a major force in Algeria. They have killed hundreds of middle-class intellectuals and professionals, even targeting young girls who dare to wear Western clothes on the streets. And they have warned foreigners to leave

Veiled threats in Quebec

When 13-year-old Ennie Goulet showed up for class one day last September at Montreal's Louis-Riel high school, she found herself in trouble. The teenager, whose mother recently converted to Islam, was sufficed to a long tunic and a hijab, the head scarf worn by many Muslims women around the world. School officials promptly sent the girl home with orders not to return until she conformed with Louis-Riel's dress code, which prohibits attire that "marginalizes" students. Expelled principal Norman Doherty. "Distinctive clothing like a hijab or neo-Islamic regalia could provoke aggression among young people."

At Louis-Riel, the school's religious controversy is Quebec. A year ago, a municipal court judge in the Montreal suburb of Longueuil sparked a furor when he expelled a woman who was wearing a hijab from his courtroom. And a private Muslim school in another Montreal suburb became the focus of public concern recently for requiring all women teachers, including non-Muslims, to wear the hijab as a condition of employment.

The events here prompted a debate over the emerging ethnic complexity of the province. On one side, groups such as the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Canadian Muslim Foundation have decried all signs of discrimination. Deputy Premier Bernard Landry, on the other hand, condemned the Muslim school's dress code for teachers as

"going beyond freedom of religion." At the same time, he refused to defend the wearing of the hijab in public schools. "Religion is free, but it's not a right to be imposed on others; it's a right to be free, like all others, but it's limited," he said. "Our role is not simply to allow the exercise of these freedoms but also to establish limits."

Several other influential voices have weighed in. Jean Paré, editor of the bi-weekly magazine *L'Express*, declared in a recent editorial that the hijab "is a religious symbol for Muslims in their struggle against the Western world." Added Paré: "In accepting in our own home this symbol, we are contributing to our own destruction and that of our values, values of equity and tolerance." In a similar vein, the *Montreal Star*'s largest federation of teachers' unions, L'Association, urged Muslims to "understand that the wearing of a veil is perceived by certain Quebecers—I would have said by certain Quebecers—I would have said by certain Quebecers—as an expression of a well-defined place for women, women whose lives do not completely conform to the perspective of equality that we're looking for."

That may well be true. But it does not carry much weight with the parents of the 13-year-old who provoked the most recent uproar. Ennie Goulet is no longer a student at the Louis-Riel high school. She has moved to a high school in Montreal, where the dress code allows her to wear whatever she wants.

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Algeria, pressing their point with violence. Stay-at-home foreigners have been killed this year, including 21 French nationals. In response, the military government has unleashed a brutal campaign of repression. Some observers estimate the death toll on both sides may total as high as 15,000.

French politicians dived the creation of a fundamentalist state in Algeria. Not only would it be more radical than France's Muslim community, they warn, but it would bring a wave of refugees to French shores. To meet such a disaster, France has sent helicopters, equipment and helicopters to bolster the Algerian military in its fight against the rebel-based extremists. But 10,000 Algerians are believed to have already fled to France, either by overstaying their tourist visas or slipping illegally across the border from other European countries. The flow of refugees makes Pasqua, who is the author of his country's new immigration policy. His department has stepped up the hunt for illegal immigrants, immediately expelling those it catches. His policy is simple: it aims for zero immigration.

Pasqua's move comes up when in the midst of the François Mitterrand era. France's president is 75 and dying of cancer. His last surviving child, his son, is stepping into the shoes of a November Paris sky. Mitterrand has scheduled for the 1995 election to force him from office before and his scheduled presidential election. French politics is now almost consumed by the power vacuum at the centre. In that atmosphere, every act—especially Pasqua's attacks on immigrants—is perceived not fundamentally as particular—is filtered through the prism of presidential politics.

"It's all politics," sneers Mounir Oussidli, one of two lawyers representing Carlos the Jacal. "Pasqua creates fear," says Oussidli. "He tells people that they might become victims of terrorism and then, poof, here's Pasqua to save us all, mister. Look, I might Carlos for you." To Oussidli, who pines for his beloved his dark glasses, sitting in his Spartan office on Paris's Left Bank. "But to Pasqua, politics is about repression. He is using the concept of total security, and his popularity is

rising because of security fears." Oussidli's eyes narrow. "Pasqua uses fear the way a capitalist uses the word," he says.

That is, ultimately, the view of Carlos's lawyer. But it is telling that Pasqua has offered no real evidence for the great international plot he claimed to have unearthed during last week's raids. The possibility of a Canadian connection mystified Canadian officials in Paris, who said the only evidence appeared to be a letter with a Canadian address on it, found in one of the 40 raided apartments. Nor was the prospect of a Canadian link discussed at the highest political levels between the two countries in Paris.



Pasqua law and order applied with a clouded fist

Many Muslims, in fact, suspect that the raid was a setup by French and Algerian secret services, designed to intimidate French Muslims and reassure the French electorate.

"That's nonsense," says Alan Chervinsky, a Paris-based freelance journalist who has spent two decades covering Islamic fundamentalism. "For one thing, there is evidence the weapons they seized were weapons of war. The Algerian extremists have cells in France, just as they did during the war of independence in the 1950s and '60s." Chervinsky himself strongly supports the government's approach. "These are fanatical tactics, and the only way to stop the extremists is to hit them hard. The way Pasqua is doing, better they grow stronger," he says. "It is not very democratic, I know," he adds with a smile and a shrug. "But stick-and-carrot policies is what the fundamentalists understand."

Still, if he wants to avoid a backlash, Pasqua's strikes against fundamentalists will have to be more surgical than they have been. He is now. "Too much collateral damage, too much willingness to equate violence with violence, might instead radicalize the Islamic community," Oussidli says in a very, very mild manner in his community. "says Ben

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Mansour "They cannot count on the complexity of other Muslims. But the danger is that the French will push us into radicalism. If this trend continues, in three or four years you will have lots of bin Ladenists in France."

Unrest among French Muslims is clearly on the rise. There were small but spirited clashes between police and Muslim youths in the French suburb of banlieus last week after a police raid on a night party. The incidents underscored the fact that there are economic as well as religious reasons for the current social tension. Muslims make up a large proportion of the French underclass. Many of them live in sprawling, nondescript housing blocks in Paris suburbs, far from the well-lit and Parisian crowds who slip into Left Bank cafes on hip 20th-century streets of expatriates. "These kids don't have the means or the opportunity to enjoy the French way of life," says writer Soliman, enjoying a coffee of his own in a Soisy restaurant. "They can't even come to some of the events because the buses don't go to the suburbs late at night."



Policemen with seized weapons. The Muslims were arrested in a series of dawn raids

Soliman predicted that weapons would come off easier had a new president and the politicians could stop trying to suppress the electronics by talking tough about anti-protests. "But you know," he added, "young Muslims see what France has done to their

parents, they see the bad housing, and they see that France is not interested in helping them make a better life, and they discover radicalism. Their parents said, 'We are Muslims, why are you?' But these kids are saying 'We are Muslims. How what?'" □



Two Fish-Based Economies. One Thrives, The Other's Gasping For Air.



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Designs on the White House

Republicans kick off the 1996 race for the presidency

In the U.S. midterms election on Nov. 4, voters in 15 states approved ballot propositions to limit the length of term that their federal representatives and senators may serve in Washington. In all, during the past four years, eleven states in 32 of the 50 states have voted for propositions—there is six more (out of 22) in the House of Representatives and currently two (out of 20) in the Senate. A prevailing mood, expressed in an Arkansas referendum, declares that "vicious officials who remain in office too long become preoccupied with re-election and ignore their duties as representatives of the people."

But politicians can hardly be less than consciously mindful of the next election—let alone, in fact, of their duties in—when in a system that spurs congressional elections every two years apart and requires constant perpetual campaigning and fundraising. When the new Congress convenes on Jan. 4, eleven days before the past 32 months away for the entire 65th U.S. House, 30 of the 108 Senate seats and the White House. And last week, with officials still counting ballots in several tight 1994 caucus politics between campaigning for 1996.

Both the victorious Republicans and the defeated Democrats say that the 1996 election—and their performances until then—will determine whether the new Republican dominance in both chambers of Congress is more than a passing interlude. Congressional balance, and Democrat President Bill Clinton's, will also affect the race for the big prize of 1996, the presidency. But salvaging campaign funds is at least as important as the political race to election day. Nov. 5, 1996, Ranganatha is especially preoccupied among presidential challenger, Jack Kemp, 58, ex-football Buffalo Bills football player and a former congressman and cabinet member, and that he is still paying off "a couple of hundred thousand dollars" in debt from a 2003 campaign for the Republican nomination. One of his critics (Doherty) says that he is "not a very good fundraiser." Kemp, "I'm looking at the same thing everyone else is looking at: money and support."

But Kemp, and a flock of other possible candidates, a general is keeping after an

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

BY CARL MOLLINS

election that weakened the leader of the short-term Democrats. Clinton himself, if he survives re-election for alleged financial misdeeds in his past, may even be forced to fight for re-election. No one has yet openly offered a challenge. But last week, the Democratic Leadership Council, a strategy group that serves to push the President to the political right, delivered a scolding. Reporting results of a party post-election poll, council members declared that "vicious officials who remain in office too long become preoccupied with re-election and ignore their duties as representatives of the people."



Speckle: Gore, exposing a left-right rift in party ranks

allegation. "Get with the program or you'll have to suffer the consequences." Among Republicans ready to capitalize on Clinton's ineffectuality, two senators look steps towards the presidential run from opposite poles of their party—Trent Lott, 57, from the right and Pennsylvania's Arlen Specter, 64, on the left. Specter, who formerly chaired the Federal Election Commission of his intent to replace his party's stance of what he declared as a "job that is going to be open," and added, "I think people are ready for change, maybe I think change." Specter, taking aim at Gore's in fact, advocated "the strategy of the fearless, five-percent figure" of his party as justification for future. He attacked the party's presence of what he declared as the "the obvious right" because they do not represent religious values. Instead, and Specter, his right brotherhood, they stand on either side of a margin.

Specter's attack highlighted a rift in party

rank between moderates and the ultra-conservative faction led by Governor and Vice Governor of Georgia, who is unemployed for the post of Speaker at the new House. The division between a candidate who leaves his distance from the extremists—most prominently Senate Republican leader Bob Dole, a pragmatist, whose disavowal, at 71, is his size. The party is powered by younger, tougher players in the Grassroots-Gangster camp and flanked by former vice-president and likely presidential contender Dick Cheney, another ally of the religious right. At 48, one year older than Clinton and two years younger than Gingrich, Quayle is the youngest of probable Republican candidates. The lineup includes four cabinet members: James Baker, 64, Dick Cheney, 53, and Lamar Alexander, 44, along with state governors Pete Wilson of California and William Weld of Massachusetts. Also on many lists, both Republicans and Democrats because his affiliation is private: Colin Powell, 57, retired chairman of the joint chiefs of staff.

Kemp, a director of Encompass America, a conservative Washington think-tank, has recently softened his reputation. He denounced a Republican-backed California proposal to withhold social benefits, including education, from illegal immigrants. And he attacked an "offensive" a current treaty that backs on average, and less confident, than whites and that efforts to improve their economic status are essentially futile (page T2). But a Kemp campaign to bridge the Republican rift leaves the financial bubble. Fundraising estimates that he needs up to \$35 million for a credible showing in primary elections.

With the threat of electoral office as high, term limits—often of indifference, as critics might say—may serve as a further deterrent to prospective candidates. The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule next year on a 1992 Arkansas term limits law that would restrict the number of terms a governor can serve. The ruling could have implications for the Congress of states imposing rules on Congress. Gingrich, however, is committed to a "first-term only" term limits law to replace career politicians with citizens' legislators—despite his own 20 years in the House. But he said his new Republican party will be seen as the "legislation may be negative, but it is not restrictive."

CLINTON ATTACKER CHARGED

A U.S. federal grand jury charged Francisco Martin Dorn with 11 counts, including one of attempting to assassinate President Bill Clinton, for spying on the White House with an assault rifle on Oct. 23. If convicted, he could face a maximum term of life in prison. Dorn, 36, an ex-convict from Colorado Springs, Colo., and a former soldier, earlier had been charged with several other felonies in connection with the shooting.

NUCLEAR-FREE UKRAINE

Ukraine's parliament approved joining the non-proliferation treaty, committing the former Soviet republic to nuclear-free status by about the turn of the century. Ukraine, the world's third-largest nuclear power, inherited an arsenal of 170 nuclear warheads and about 1,500 nuclear warheads when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

PRESIDENT ABANDONS PULPIT

Habib President Jean-Bertrand Aristide formally said to be relieved of his duties as a Roman Catholic priest. The decision allows Aristide, 41, to carry out his political duties without incurring the anger of the church hierarchy. In 1980, the fiery apostle of liberation theology was formally dismissed from his Sacerdot office for "having violated" through his sermons to Haiti's poor.

A CONSPIRACY ACCUSATION

Mexico's deputy attorney general, Mario Manzano, accused two top officials of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) of obstructing his investigation into the Sept. 28 assassination of his brother, party secretary general Francisco Ruiz Marín. About a dozen people have been indicted in the case so far, and police are searching for former PRI deputy Manuel Mielles Rocha, the alleged planner of the killing. Ruiz has said he also believes other PRI officials were involved in the killing, as part of a conspiracy by oligarchic members of the ruling party to sabotage democratic reform in Mexico.

REGULATING THE OCEANS

New laws in the making, the landmark Law of the Sea Convention now in effect on Nov. 16. The United Nations International Seabed Authority will oversee implementation of the treaty, which regulates deep seabed mining activities, provides for the control of 90-mile economic exclusion zones in coastal waters, covers navigation rights and establishes a tribunal in Germany to settle disputes over marine resources and rights.

World NOTES

A government falls apart

Certain to lose a parliamentary confidence vote, Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds resigned. Labour Leader Dick Spring resigned the issue by withdrawing his party's support from the two-year-old coalition government after Reynolds approved controversial farmer aid groups against Harry Whitehead as president or director, of the high court. Whitehead had been censured as controversial after critics accused his office of delaying action on an extradition request from Northern Ireland for the arrest of suspected pedophile Roy Brennan. Spring, a Roman Catholic priest, was jailed for four years in June when he refused voluntarily to Northern Ireland to face multiple sex charges covering a 26-year period. After first defending his promotion of Whitehead, Reynolds, who heads the Prime Minister party, later offered an humiliating apology to Parliament. But

Spring was not swayed, leaving Reynolds in the chair but to step down.

Perhaps Reynolds's biggest risk was the Northern Ireland peace plan that he forged last year with British Prime Minister John Major. So far, it has paid off. Royal Protestant and Catholic groups declared ceasefire in recent weeks, allowing the British province a glimmer of hope after 25 years of sectarian violence. But the collapse of Reynolds's government could cloud the peace of the Anglo-Irish quest for peace. Martin McGuinness, a vice-president of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, said the political instability in Dublin "would affect the continuity, the momentum and the confidence-building which have been created elements in the peace process." St. Paul, McGuinness said his party remained willing to negotiate.



Reynolds risks

A secret war?

Are CIA agents operating in what Iran calls? Portuguese spokesman Joao Carlos Wood categorically denied it. But a reported London newspaper, The Economist, reported that several years of clandestine personal working for the Central Intelligence Agency are in focus against Muslims in tactical operations, providing satellite intelligence and controlling air traffic. "They are teaching the Bosnian Muslims how to fight the Bosnian Serbs," an unnamed European defense source was quoted as telling the newspaper. "We are talking about the American taking sides. They have in fact been the war."

The newspaper published the story one week after the United States decided unilaterally to stop entering a UN arms embargo against Bosnia's Muslim-led government, which has lost two-thirds of the country to the better-armed Bosnian Serbs. Quoting an unnamed Western source, The Economist and the Associated Press are questioning the consistency of a secret conflict in an isolated valley in central Bosnia. "The assistance of U.S. troops has been vital in recent Bosnia army

success," said the newspaper.

In Washington, Pentagon spokesman Wood dismissed the report. "We don't have anyone over there doing any kind of training," he said, adding cryptically, "we are doing business as usual."

Rioting in Gaza

In the worst recent Palestinian violence since the outbreak of the intifada, 100 Palestinian Islamic militants and Muslim clerics in Gaza City killed 33 people and injured as many as 200. Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat, who is under pressure from Israel to crack down on Islamic fanatics, blamed the bloodshed on the Islamic Hamas and Islamic Jihad groups, which consider him a major rival within the intifada.

Despite a curfew imposed on last week between rival Palestinian leaders, Islamic militants burned shops and chased 200-300 soldiers. Violence also spread to the West Bank, where Muslims attacked Jewish and Israeli police during the same weekend. BDO police picked out to intervene in funeral marches, and militant Hamas leaders promised to resist their followers.

COMMON INTEREST

A sharp hike in U.S. rates could slow Canada down

Higher interest rates in the United States were the last thing that Stander Ltd., of Calgary wanted last week. The automotive supplier manufacturer sells much of its production in the United States, and sales manager Bill Hunk says that the U.S. Federal Reserve Board rate hike will hurt his business on two fronts. As interest rates in both countries rise, Stander's costs increase. In addition, higher rates will act as a disincentive to buyers who rely on credit, and their response in turn will generally slow economic growth. Although Stander, the largest manufacturer of auto and trailer springs in North America, has had good sales in 1994, Hunk says that higher rates, along with a recent jump in steel prices, will cut into 1995 sales prospects. "We're worried," he said. "It's definitely bad for business."

Hunk is not alone in his concerns about the prospects for his business. Jayna Myers, chief economist at the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Toronto, says that 40 per cent of the country's manufacturing production is now being exported to the United States. And any slowdown there will be felt almost immediately across the border in Canada. Still, a slowdown is what the U.S. Federal Reserve Board was aiming for with its hike last week to the cost of borrowing. The federal fund rate jumped by three-quarters of a percentage point to 5.5 per cent. Not only was the increase—the sixth this year—bigger than the financial markets had expected, but the board also hinted that there would still be much more to come. The board's aggressive rate-hike strategy is controversial while Wall Street economists, who focus more on purely financial issues, support it as necessary to prevent the return of robust inflation. Others, who concentrate on fundamental business con-



ditions, worry that it will choke off economic growth.

In Canada, where the economic recovery is much less advanced than in the United States, the rate hike has the potential to do even greater damage. Even so, Canadian financial markets initially reacted coolly, with some

Canadian rates—the bank rate and some other short-term rates—edging upward slightly. With the country's political environment as stable as it was before the Quebec election, and with the federal government's commitment to ending the deficit redoubled, economists predict that Canadian rates will not be



Greenpeace, leading paper in Vancouver for export (left): "We're going to get higher rates."

loved up as much as U.S. rates—at least for the moment. "That it's inevitable that we're going to get higher rates," said Sherry Cooper, chief economist at investment dealer Nesbitt Burns Economics in Toronto. "I don't think the Fed is going to be satisfied until they crush the economy."

In Washington, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, is being criticized for the Fed's supposedly aggressive inflation strategy. Although the board's actions are usually ignored by the general public, demonstrators picketed outside Greenspan's office last week protesting that high or interest rates are killing jobs.

The demonstrators were not alone in their concerns. Although a majority of U.S. economists tend to support Greenspan, many say that the economy is in danger of slowing down far more than the board intends. Paul Hershman, chief economist with DRI Securities U.S.A. Corp. in New York City, says the reserve board is overreacting and that once the economy will show serious deterioration. "They feel the economy is on the run," said Hershman. "With inflation in retreat they think that now is the time to test it for good. But they're fighting the last war—playing the last recession—even though conditions have changed."

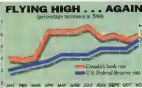
Hershman says that the board's current strategy would have been appropriate for the economy period after the 1982-1983 recession, when inflation remained persistently high. But, he says that it will not work now, when other factors such as intense international competition, are keeping a lid on price increases. In stead, he says that interest rates have risen so much already that it is only a matter of time be-

fore their chilling effect shows up in the actual economic statistics.

Indeed, some economic indicators are already beginning to show serious weakness. Last week, U.S. housing starts showed that construction activity had plunged five per cent in October, compared with September. Housing starts in the United States peaked at the end of 1993 when they hit a monthly rate of 1.6 million. By November, they had fallen to a seasonally adjusted rate of 1.4 million. Housing is one of the sectors most sensitive to rising rates. Most economists agree that a series of recessions before they learn the lesson that

inflation is no longer the problem.

Meanwhile in Canada, the real estate market is even weaker. "It has slowed quite dramatically," said Tom Allen, president of Bank of Montreal Mortgage Corp. in Toronto. "Especially in the British buyer segment. When rates rise, they're the first ones who get squeezed out of the market." The good news, says Allen, is that Canadian rates may not rise much more. "I don't see any great push to raise rates in Canada," he said. "Our economy is much weaker,



and we have about no influence."

Following the Fed's rate increase, the Canadian dollar slipped just half of one percent to close the week at 73.10 cents, and short-term interest rates edged up about one-quarter of a percentage point. The inflation rate, running at about 2.5 per cent now, is only about half that of the United States. Furthermore, mortgage rates in particular are holding steady. "Hopefully, we can get by this time without having to raise mortgage rates," said Allen. "The five-year rate is at 3 3/4 per cent right now. If it goes over 3 1/2 it has a bad psychological effect on the real estate market."

He says that most mortgage customers are taking advantage of lower short-term rates,

raising between 7.25 and 8 per cent for six quarters or one year. "Consumers are still going ahead," said Allen, who recommends that buyers for most mortgage holders because he expects mortgage rates to remain relatively steady for the next year or two. There is even a possibility, he says, that long-term rates, which in an unusual move, climbed much faster than short-term rates during the past few months, may fall slightly next year.

But higher U.S. interest rates—and the economic slowdown that they are likely to cause—are particularly worrisome to the manufacturing industry. Myers, of the manufacturers' association, says that the Canadian economy owes its recovery almost entirely to the growth in exports to the United States. With 40 per cent of the sector's production going to the United States, a slowdown in that country would quickly be felt in the Canadian industry. "There's no sign that domestic consumers are going to be stepping up to replace lost U.S. sales," added Myers. "Many of them are using as mortgages that are greater than the selling price of the house, so they are not rushing to start spending again." In the United States, Brownstein predicts a significant reduction in consumer spending early in 1995. "After the Christmas holidays came in and they see the effect of higher rates on their credit cards."

Higher interest rates are also a concern for governments with budget deficits. In Canada, every one-percentage-point increase in rates costs Ottawa another \$1.7 billion in interest costs each year. Said Myers: "It makes Finance Minister Paul Martin's job even tougher." However, Sweden's chief economist with London Life Insurance Co. in Toronto,

David, in a somewhat contradictory point of view, cites expectations about the U.S. government deficit, even more than inflation worries, as the force pushing up U.S. rates. Sari says that with the Republican election, even earlier this month, and the presidential election now just two years away, financial markets are expecting the looming political power struggle to push the U.S. deficit up. An increased demand for borrowing will push up interest rates. "There's only a finite amount of capital in the world," said Sari, "and much of it is now going to the emerging nations—so it's not surprising that the cost of money or interest rates has to go up."

On a more granular level, however, Stander's Bill Hunk is openly worried about how the spring industry is going to weather the surge in rates. Said Hunk, who met with other industry members at an automotive colloquium in Palm Desert, Calif., just last month: "I won't like the past few years when every one was talking about going into the market. This year everyone was talking about how there was growth in their business." Suddenly the question has become, is that growth about to disappear?

RENEA DALGLISH

Southern exposure

Canada is pushing to include Chile in NAFTA

The numbers are beyond extraordinary. Among them, the 38 member countries at the organization that calls itself the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) account for 42 per cent of world trade and their combined gross national product of \$16.6 billion represents half the economic production of the entire world. So, when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and 17 other APEC leaders signed the Bogor Declaration in Jakarta last week and committed their nations to free trade, it signalled the conception of what could soon become the world's most powerful trading bloc. "This is the biggest and fastest-growing market in the world," said Chrétien. And there was no doubt that Canada was happy to be included. "Membership," the Prime Minister gushed, "has its privileges."

But membership in another trade club is also high on the Liberal government's agenda as it pursues its stated goal of including Chile in the year-old North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Chile, one of the fastest growing economies in the world, is pushing for better access to North American markets and Canada wants to stand in its international trade lanes even further. The issue of Chile's potential inclusion in NAFTA was reportedly raised at the APEC summit, where Chrétien met privately for almost an hour with Chilean President Eduardo Frei Ruiz Tagle. "Of course, the topic of NAFTA was present in the conversation," said Luis Paloma, coordinator and secretary-general of Chile's embassy in Ottawa. Frei and Chrétien will be setting considerably more of that roller in the coming months. They will meet in Miami early next month at the Summit of the Americas, and Chrétien will make his first official visit to Chile by a Canadian prime minister in the last week of January as part of a trade mission that will also include stops in Brazil and Argentina.

On the surface, there is little to suggest that Chile and Canada would have anything

other than a casual—but distant—connection. For one thing, the geographic distance between the two nations is an always impediment to trade. Furthermore, although Canada's bilateral trade with Chile has grown, it amounted to only a modest \$422 million last year. Canadian exports in the first six months of this year were valued at \$143 million, a 38-per-cent increase. But Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela are all more significant Latin American markets for Canada than Chile.

The investment picture, however, is quite a different matter. Canadian mining companies, attracted by rich unexplored ore reserves, have made Canada the second largest source of foreign investment for Chile. "The level of Canadian investment is incredible," Mike Lurie, Canada's ambassador in Santiago, told *Maclean's*. Canadian companies now expect to invest about \$4 billion over the next few years. "That compares with an investment," Lurie said, "of about \$80 million only five years ago." (There is even a joke in Canadian mining circles that says up the new direction. "What do you get with the Canadian prospectors in one corner? A Spanish class 1 Semi ED Douma, executive director of the Canadian Association for the Americas, an Ottawa-based think-tank that promotes closer ties with Latin America. "We really are very large players in Chile even if we don't know it.")

That may soon change as investments expand beyond the mining sector. Among other deals, CanWest Global Communications has bought a 50-per-cent interest in a Chilean television network, and the Bank of Nova Scotia has a 30-per-cent stake in Banco Sudamericano, the country's seventh largest bank. The Canadian presence in Chile has become so significant, says Assad W Hadda, a Chilean-born Canadian who represents the bank in Santiago, that "it probably should be the first place Canadians think



APEC leaders in Incan-style tunics at the Jakarta summit last week in Asia and South America

of when it comes to new trade partners."

A more formal trading relationship with Chile through its inclusion in NAFTA would provide Canadian companies much greater protection for their direct investments there. "An agreement because a lot of our economic policy," said one senior government official. But Canada's portfolio of direct investments is just one of the forces behind the move. Chile is already winning praise in international business circles for its warm reception of foreign investors and for the pro-business economic environment that it has cultivated. "Chile has pioneered faster and further with economic reforms than any other Latin American country," federal Trade Minister Roy MacLaren told *Maclean's* last week. "Chile is pre-eminently equipped to join

NAFTA and could do so quite readily."

According to Paloma, Chile is anxious to negotiate on that point and to join NAFTA. As in the case of Canada, Chile's push to participate in the bilateral trade pact has much to do with the United States. "We are very heavily about it. The market for us is the United States," said Paloma, adding that he frequently has to remind Chilean exporters that "in the back of the United States is another country."

Canada's interest in trade with Chile may be even less obvious, but it is no less real. In fact, Douma considers that getting Chile into the NAFTA club "is one of the most

important Canadian foreign policy objectives." For one thing, Canadian officials want to avoid a precedent where rapidly developing countries, like Chile, conclude bilateral trade deals with the United States, which exclude Canada. "What we do not want is a series of bilateral deals in which, at the end of the day, the club would be Washington," Douma said. In fact, it was his strong concern about trade relations between Mexico and the United States that prompted Canada to get involved in NAFTA. Furthermore, the Liberals, who fervently opposed the free trade agreement with the United States and were openly ambivalent about NAFTA, want to expand the membership of NAFTA to close the power of the United States in the three-way pact.

In an interview of *Maclean's* last of being left out on the run of an agreement-dominated trade community. MacLaren told *Maclean's* that Ottawa would only say

later, signing its own free trade agreement with Chile if the United States decides to delay Chile's entry into NAFTA. Canada, Mexico and Chile will begin talks soon if the United States is not ready, he said, and negotiations could be concluded within a year. "If at the end, the Americans are unable to participate, we would certainly contemplate a bilateral free trade agreement," MacLaren declared.

For its part, Washington does not dispute the notion that Chile is ready to join NAFTA. There are, however, some signs of skepticism in the United States, especially after the

reporter's claim that the House and Senate, where protectionist sentiment is strongest, "The United States is unwilling to be committed to Chile," Douma said.

Furthermore, U.S. Secretary Bill Clinton gave up his last trade negotiating authority for new trade deals, including NAFTA accession, as part of the price to push the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) through Congress last December. Now, the GATT deal, which would bring down trade barriers around the world, is also coming under renewed attacks. Republican Jesse Helms, who is tagged as the most likely new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, and last week that he wants the GATT/NAFTA vote postponed until next year. Adding to the uncertainty over GATT, Kansas Senator Dick Dicker, majority leader in the new Senate, has not yet indicated how he will vote. Beyond GATT, Chile is seen as a true test of American support for globalization. Helms, Helms and Frei will both be looking for a reaffirmation of that support from Clinton at the upcoming White House summit. According to Paloma, the Chilean government is hoping that Clinton will offer a formal invitation to begin NAFTA negotiations at the summit.

In Ottawa, the Liberal party's embrace of free trade—which it capped as recently as 1986—has none of its former allies feeling betrayed. "I don't know how they got to sleep at night," said Mande Barlow, head of the Council of Canadians, a sharp critic of free trade then and now. And as in Chile, Barlow notes that the Liberal's enthusiasm for the economic benefits of trade in isolating them from Chile's human rights record, which has been criticized by Amnesty International and the New York City-based Human Rights Watch because of the residual influence of the military. "They are turning their backs on evidence about Chile's past and, still, for trade advocates like MacLaren, there is no doubt that while Chile is "on the front of the pack" to be accepted as a NAFTA member, other Latin American nations, including Argentina, are close behind. That while being in Chile into NAFTA would be the last step in building an economic community from Tierra del Fuego to Ellesmere Island, that step remains to be taken.

WASHEN CARAVANES in Ottawa

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USAir crash near Charlotte, N.C. in July: reports of inadequate fueling and maintenance

Running on empty

Cash-strapped USAir faces safety questions

In August, Leonard Burton, who owns a gift shop in the town of Cold Spring, about 80 km north of New York City, flew to Washington aboard a USAir.com carrier flight. The trip was unremarkable, and Burton, "but I was glad to land and make sure I would never fly USAir by choice." The reluctance of some travelers is by with USAir because of its alarming string of crashes—the most recent killed 320 passengers and crew when a Boeing 737 jetliner went down near Pittsburgh on Sept. 5—in one big problem plaguing the north largest U.S. carrier. Available in its financial documents, including \$25 billion in long-term debt and high operating costs that have hampered the 65-year-old airline in its efforts to ward off fiercer competition. In what could be a last-ditch effort, USAir officials and representatives of the airline's 5,300 pilots met in Washington last week for bargaining sessions that could bring wages will not more than \$1 billion (over its annual \$8.4-billion operating costs). "If USAir does not get a labor deal," said Paul Barnes, an investment analyst with US First States County Research in Minneapolis. "The chances are very high that they will have to file for bankruptcy protection."

On the eve of the crash before negotiations, there was more bad publicity for the

belaguered airline, which operates mainly in the eastern United States and has about 30 flights a day from five eastern Canadian cities, including Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, to U.S. destinations. The latest blow was a scandal New York Times article that raised troubling questions about the safety of USAir's operations. The Times reported on Nov. 3 that last year, inspectors from the Washington-based Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) found more than 40 deficiencies in the airline's operations and training programs. The Times also reported that, according to FAA records, on one occasion during the past 36 months, 737 jetliners prepared for short-haul without sufficient fuel for their planned flights. And on one occasion last February, a USAir DC9 with 62 passengers aboard had to make an emergency landing in New York City because it did not have enough fuel to reach Boston from Washington.

As well, the Times article reported that according to an FAA report, USAir pilots frequently violated an administration regulation that forbids informal cockpit checklists below 3,000 feet. It quoted a 1994 FAA report that criticized USAir's maintenance procedures as "lacking in real world scenarios and result in substandard performance." The report put

some of the blame on USAir's rapid growth in the fiercely competitive climate that developed following U.S. airline deregulation in 1978. During the late 1980s, USAir absorbed San Diego-based Pacific Southwest Airlines and Piedmont Airlines Inc. of Winston-Salem, N.C.

One chilling incident reported by the Times revealed that a USAir employee did nothing about a safety risk because of the airline's precarious financial situation. The article said that in March, 1992, Everett Tate, a USAir maintenance supervisor, allowed a Boeing 737 to continue flying even though a system designed to warn pilots when the aircraft was in danger of losing thrust was not working. In a statement to the FAA, which was obtained by the Times, Tate was asked whether he thought that he was saving the company money "too, sir," Tate replied.

"The financial condition of the airline had a bearing on this."

"Yes, sir," Mr. Tate said. "I would say so."

The Times added that Tate was subsequently suspended for 18 days without pay for falsifying maintenance records and allowing the aircraft to fly.

A statement issued by USAir's Arlington, Va., head office, denied some of the charges leveled by the Times—saying a certification that the airline is losing \$2 million a day, the airline said that the figure was not "anything close to that." Company officials disputed some of the newspaper's other findings, but admitted that a USAir jet made an emergency landing because it was running out of fuel, adding that personnel involved in the incident had been disciplined. "Where we know that violations have happened or where there have been lapses in judgment in training, we have addressed that," said USAir spokesman Fred Turk. "The FAA is satisfied that we're a safe operator. When they think so they'll have provided us long ago."

Still, USAir's string of five crashes—in which 275 people died since 1987—has clearly shaken the confidence of some travelers. Air coordinators were blamed for a runway collision in Los Angeles between a USAir Boeing 737 and another aircraft in which 34 people died in February, 1990. But at three other accidents, including a commuter aircraft crash in New York City in March, 1990, that killed 27 people, investigators either blamed human error or failed the airline's operating procedures. Investigations have yet to determine the causes of the airline's two most recent disasters—in July, when a DC9 crashed while landing during a thunder storm at Charlotte, N.C., killing 37 people.

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and the crash occurred in September. Since then, USAir's financial position has worsened, prompting widespread speculation that the airline may soon be forced to seek legal protection from its creditors. During the past few years, USAir has lost more than \$3.2 billion, and the two most recent crashes led to a sharp dip in passenger bookings, which contributed to the company's third-quarter loss of \$840 million. Furthermore, with investors quickly losing confidence in the airline's ability to recover, USAir's share price has plunged from \$25 (U.S.) a year ago to \$4.12 last week.

According to industry observers, USAir's problems are attributable to its bulky size, its cumbersome administrative bureaucracy and its overreliance on short-haul routes. To be fair, these criticisms are the critics' only. The highest cost structures in the industry—34.4 cents per passenger mile compared with about 12 cents for most of its competitors. Because USAir crews are often in the air for short periods, their productivity—measured in seatmiles flown—tends to be higher than for pilots for airlines flying longer routes. "The critics would say it's because the company doesn't know how to schedule the air base properly," noted Karna, "and the company would say it's the route constraints."

The resulting high costs make USAir vulnerable to competition from such no-frills carriers as Dallas-based Southwest Airlines Co. and Houston-based Continental Airlines Corp., which have recently begun to make serious inroads into USAir's eastern seaboard markets. "In my high-cost structure," said Rose Ann Tarrone, an analyst with the New York investment firm of Dean Witter, Lufkin & Jenrette, "it was that they can no longer maintain the premium power they once had."

USAir's pilots, whose salaries average about \$100,000 a year, agree that operating costs need to be trimmed. Federal regulations broke down in October when the company rejected the pilots' demand for a 25-percent raise in the company and seats on the board of directors in return for wage concessions. That time, the two sides met with a Dec. 15 deadline for reaching an agreement—and a heightened sense of urgency generated by the airline's recent crashes and by increasingly negative publicity. But at atmosphere, industry observers predicted last week that USAir might reluctantly decide to follow the example set by both United Airlines and Northwest Airlines Inc. in the past few months and surrender a substantial share of the company to its employees in return for desperately needed concessions.

MARK NICHOLS with
WILLIAM COTTEMAN in Washington

Learning to listen

I was, as they say, a moment. Last week, it suddenly became clear that some Canadians should be sent to their rooms to think things over for a while. Certainly that applies to a herd of widely univer-



BY DEIRDRE McDERMID

sity students who stormed Parliament Hill and, in an act of supreme political empowerment, backed members of Federal House of Commons Minister Lloyd Axworthy. The students had journeyed to Ottawa to protest against proposed social spending cuts that threaten their apparently inalienable right to heavily subsidized postsecondary education and student loans. But in truth, these high-spirited young people—along with those who readily disrupted a

not a night to continue making demands on that system when it is no longer financially sustainable.

At the same time, it Ottawa really wants to convince Canadians that restraint and sacrifice are the order of the day, it must present a more convincing case. At the same time that Lloyd was denying posts on Parliament Hill, one of the most current examples of mismanaged public sector spending in the history of Confederation was being tossed out to sea.

Yes, after years of bickering and delay, the Liberals of management is now officially closed. And while Canadians were agonizing over such policy issues as cuts to health care and other core social programs at Commons committee hearings across the country last week, five taxpayers recently landed a 198,000-ton chunk of concrete from Bull Arm, Newfoundland, into the frigid north Atlantic in preparation for Hibernia's next phase of development.

As a former federal energy minister, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien must know better. Since the late 1970s, Ottawa has lavished more than \$2 billion on oil exploration in the Beaufort Sea, \$600 million on the Lloydminster heavy-oil upgrade and more than \$2 billion on Hibernia. So far, there's been very little commercial oil production from any of these projects.

But while the others have gradually faded from view, Hibernia has survived, sustained by a rich brood of federal grants, loan guarantees and direct investment. Of course, Newfoundland—attract has 23 per cent provincial ownership—has several federal seats while the western Arctic has only one riding. And Hibernia has been deliberately engineered to specifications that ensure the maximum number of jobs are created—however that may slow the already costly construction of the \$2.2-billion project. But now more than ever before, the politics of regional disparity are in uncharted territory. If Ottawa wants Canadian university students to understand that a new era has begun, it will have to start teaching by example. Beginning with the end of costly federal participation at Hibernia.



Student protest on Parliament Hill, children

social policy review forum in Vancouver on the same day—would have been far better off studying an example of listening a thing or two from an Economics 101 tutorial.

What is especially aggravating about such childish outbursts is that the students, ostensibly the future hope of Canada, just don't get it. If the deficit is not soon brought under control through various measures—including a painful revisionment of our non-alignment priorities—they are the ones who will suffer the most over the long run. Lloyd Axworthy is not a school principal, and he is not their dad. He was not elected to public office to make sure that Canada's youth eat their vegetables, dress their hair and respect their elders. But he is forced into that absurd, quasi-authoritarian role by those who utterly refuse to share any of the responsibility for Canada's financial crisis or for the solutions to such a complex problem.

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Business NOTES

Great Whale project beached

Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau put the \$13-billion Great Whale hydroelectric development on hold indefinitely, saying that Quebec no longer needs the costly megaproject. Parizeau declared that his decision was precipitated by the release of a federal environmental impact study—produced over a period of 11 years at a cost of \$250 million—conducted “major inadequacies.”

Great Whale, the second phase of the anglo James Bay hydro project in northern Quebec, has long been a source of controversy between the provincial government, native leaders and environmentalists. Great Whale was first conceived in the 1975 James Bay Agreement between Quebec, Ottawa, the Cree and the Inuit. It would have generated 3,200 megawatts of electricity from a network of dams and dikes flooding about 3,400 square kilometres of agricultural Cree lands.

In 1992, however, Great Whale suffered a significant setback when the state of

New York cancelled a \$17-billion contract to buy 1,000 megawatts of power from Hydro Quebec. State officials cited depressed power demand and environmental concerns about Great Whale as the reasons for withdrawing from the deal.

The unexpected announcement about the project's federal fate made at a news conference where Parizeau's real target appeared to be Matthew Coon-Come, the grand chief of Quebec's Cree. Cree-Come had just delivered a speech in Washington in which he attacked both the project and the separatist movement. After learning of the announcement, Coon-Come congratulated the premier for a “congratulatory decision.” Environmental groups also expressed their approval of the decision. For their part, however, Hydro Quebec officials appeared to be unprepared for Parizeau's announcement. A spokesman said the utility had no comment.

By shelving the project, Parizeau may help maintain a major irritant in his effort to win Quebec natives over to his sovereignty cause.



Parizeau on hold

Watchdogs with teeth

In the wake of two recent court cases that raised questions about the legality of certain securities regulations, the Ontario government introduced a bill that would grant the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) the power to issue rules that have the full force of law. With the draft of the securities amendment act, which Finance Minister Floyd Laughlin says should receive speedy passage, Ontario becomes the first jurisdiction in Canada to legislate rule-making power to its securities commission. British Columbia has indicated that it will provide such powers next spring.

Under the bill, there will be a 90-day public notice before a new OSC rule goes to the finance minister, who will have 90 days to approve or reject each rule. The OSC, however, will be able to make emergency rules, which may be in effect for nine months. As well, all existing policy statements will be examined to

determine whether they should become rules. The federal government, meanwhile, is also considering sweeping new powers for its financial watchdogs. Doug Peters, minister of state responsible for Canada's 200 financial institutions, says he is considering two ways to crack down on troubled financial institutions. One method would include giving regulators the right to, in effect, certify top executives and directors of Canadian financial institutions, as well as the right to fire them. Also being considered is a power to early intervention that would enable regulators to demand more disclosures, to require responses for changes in corporate strategies and to have activities judged a threat to the institution. Peters's considerations follow the collapse this fall of Confederation Life Insurance Co., a 123-year-old Toronto-based insurer, which had about 4,000 employees and \$13 billion in assets.



On the rough road to political survival

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

When I last saw Jean Charest, it was the spring of 1995, and he was barely moving through his speech in the Tory leader ship convention. It was one of his last bad days. Too speechy by half, he sounded like one of those cocktail-party warblers, misstating technique for soul. His leadership campaign had been an exercise in obvious apoplexy, buoyed by the high emotions of Tory mythology. He seemed not so much too young to lead Canada's Progressive Conservative Party, as too caricatured.

Seventeen months later, when I met him again last week during one of his speaking trips to Vancouver, he was a different man. The speechifying bug of 1995 is still there, and he still seems younger than his 38 years, but there's also evidence of self-discipline and inner strength—being one of two survivors from the Tory massacre at 1993 has done much to concentrate his mind and harden his gaze.

The political invigilator Charest leads, the one that founded this country and ruled it for 51 of the 127 years since Confederation, now make barely a dent of where the Bloc Québécois Party might be if it still existed. (Where are the Liberals when we need them most?) The federal Tories have no power base, no platform and no money. The party went into the 1993 campaign with a surplus of \$5.6 million and emerged from the slaughter with a deficit of \$5.2 million. That means their tens seats cost them more than \$5 million each. The Conservatives have been deprived of official recognition in the Commons, and Charest has only a minimum backup staff—a dozen people including clerks and secretaries—to help him lead what the Tories look to be.

What he does have is a chance to burn, an agenda, and above all, the surefire conviction that history was on his side. He could be right.

His agenda calls for the Tories to reemerge themselves in the next 25 months into a viable political force with a permanent policy

Jean Charest has charm to burn, an agenda, and above all, the surefire conviction that history is on his side. He could be right.

breath. "Canada is one of the only countries in the world where the national political parties don't have such permanent functions," he said. "In the past, we've put a good deal because once a party gets into power there's a natural decline that happens, a certain illusion that just because you've won an election, you think you're set up for life. But, in fact, you decline because the best people in the party are too busy with the day-to-day task of governing. So if you don't have a firm agenda that's being updated all the time, you lose the benefits of coordinating new ideas and seeing the best public policy emerge. In fact, we're seeing that right now, with this Liberal government, which came to power with only three ideas on its agenda—in a camp Pearson support, kill the helicopter deal and put in the administrative programs. The first book didn't quite do it far them so they did the GATT, implemented NAFTA and did the interprovincial trade barriers. Now, they're on to the deficit and debt. But nobody said no to what they have on agenda, so that they've had to jump up where we live it."

Charest is highly critical of the usual way Jean Chretien handled the controversy over

the Ministerial Mandate. He's particularly strong on the subject since he voluntarily resigned from the Mulroney cabinet over a telephone call he made in a pub in 1990. "It was the Prime Minister's choice to react the way he did," Charest says. "He has told Canadians there's a standard of behavior for others, and a different standard for him and his ministers. Well, you pay a price for that."

Most of Charest's work has involved trying to restructure a party that has no federal power base. His blossoming friendship with Alberta Premier Ralph Klein is significant in that context because his is the strongest surviving Tory administration. "More than two million people voted for us in the last election," Charest points out, "which was more than voted for the official Opposition Bloc Québécois. The provincial parties represent an important source we can go to, but we've never deliberately avoided putting ourselves in the middle of the fray as policies in the first year of the new federal government. We felt it wouldn't be a useful statement for us since they expected a great deal of benefit at a time when they first came in."

If Jacques Parizeau lives up to his promise and holds his reelection next year, Charest will be granted an easy exit out of possible political obscurity. He will become a key figure in governing the reduced case to Quebecers, where calls there be the most popular federal policies. "Quebecers agree that we should sleep the agenda as we should limp—so that together they are co-opting Quebecers with two and only two choices: independence or the status quo," he says. "We need to be very clear what the referendum will be about. The burden of proof will be with those who want to take Quebec out of Canada and to tell Quebecers what it will really mean for them and their children. But it will not be enough for those who want the country to stay together to rely on simply repeating here again we love Canada."

Charest is confident the Conservatives will be relevant in that and other national debates. "It's much more than one," he says. "The Tories have a very important heritage that we earned the hard way through Bob Stanfield, Joe Clark, Brian Mulroney and even Mr. Campbell. There's a consensus there different from the Liberals and obviously very different from the Bloc Québécois. We have a real contribution to make, and our history will serve us well."

Details remain to be worked out, but Charest is pushing the idea that a declaration involving the sharing of power and that governments at both the federal and provincial levels must exercise the full extent of their jurisdictions, with each sovereign in its field. That would eliminate overlap. According to the Constitution, he believes, should follow that process instead of proceeding in "let's burn what works." he says, "change what doesn't work, and eliminate what's no longer useful. The voting and funding party should be what works best for Canadians. Not what works best for political parties." Amen.

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TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE FORESTS

In 1993, Canadians made a commitment to care for their forests for the benefit of present and future generations. This commitment came as the result of extensive public consultations involving governments, industry, labour, conservation/environmental groups, Aboriginal peoples, academia, private woodlot owners, and other non-governmental organizations, as well as individual Canadians.

A vision of Canada's future forests, and how to get there, is found in the five-year National Forest Strategy, *Sustainable Forests: A Canadian Commitment*. It is Canada's national action plan for sustainable forest management. Commitment to this new Strategy was affirmed by the signing of the first Canada Forest Accord in March 1993.

REPORTING ON PROGRESS

The Canadian Council of Forest Ministers, ename of the Strategy, and the National Forest Strategy Coalition that oversees its implementation, agreed that an independent party would evaluate the Strategy and release the results to the public.

A Blue Ribbon Panel recently completed its mid-term evaluation report. Progress is being made across Canada. The Panel was pleased to find that Canadians remain strongly committed to the Strategy. Together, Canadians are protecting a priceless part of our natural heritage.

A SAMPLE OF PROGRESS TO DATE

- Ten model forests involving 250 organizations have been established as working models of sustainable forest management. Canada is also leading the development of an international network of model forests.

- Most provinces now require forest companies to state, before they harvest, how their activities will affect soil, wildlife and climate on Crown lands.
- Codes of practice that support sustainable forest management are being adopted.
- Education and research institutions are shifting their focus to support the principles of sustainable forestry.
- Increased financial resources are being dedicated by government and industry to the development of environmentally sound forestry technologies.
- Internationally, Canada is recognized as the leader in sustainable forest management.

THE PATH AHEAD

Despite solid and impressive progress, a lot more work remains.

At their recent annual meeting, the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers agreed to increase efforts in four key areas of the Strategy, as recommended by the Panel:

- complete an ecological classification of forest lands,
- complete a network of protected areas representative of Canada's forests,
- establish forest inventories that include information on a wide range of forest values; and,
- develop a system of national indicators to gauge forest management sustainability.

PROGRESS THROUGH COOPERATION

Canada's forests are a vital part of our natural heritage. Each of us has a responsibility to help secure their future.

As Canadians, we are proving that by working together, we can make great strides towards reaching our goal of sustainable forests.

Cooperation is essential. The future of our forests depends on it.

If you want to know more about the Strategy or the Coalition, or to obtain copies of the Mid-term Evaluation Report, contact:

NATIONAL FOREST STRATEGY COALITION
Hull, Québec K1A 1G5
Telephone: (819) 997-1107
Facsimile: (819) 953-7048
Internet: NFSC @ AM.NCR.FORESTRY.CA



NATIONAL
FOREST
STRATEGY
COALITION

"SUSTAINING & DOCUMENTING", an old-growth pine ecosystem of TONGUE RIVER, British Columbia, by Tim Worthington

The fall of a King

High-flying Bruce McNall faces fraud charges

The Los Angeles crowd was captivated by his charm and generosity. Journalists were intrigued by his success and splashy *Entertainment*. Bruce McNall—short, pudgy, boyish-looking and endlessly energetic—made a fortune on race cars and professional sports. He invested in movie homes and Hollywood movies. In 1988, he bought the world's greatest hockey player—Wayne Gretzky—for his Los Angeles Kings and brought hockey up from second-prize status in southern California. He shook up Canadian football in 1991 by signing U.S. soccer sensation Paul Hackett's return to the Toronto Argonauts for \$11 million, but that was then. Now 44, McNall has watched his magic evaporate. His companies are bankrupt, his reputation tanked—well, his work, federal prosecutors in Los Angeles charge. He sits with four of dozens in discrediting several loads of nearly \$380 million. McNall was also expected to step down as the Kings' president. Yet he still has his friends. "We have all managed to remain pals," says Canadian-born comedian Alan Thicke. "There was not as much a high five involved as he was generous with others."

Some of McNall's co-employees are now paying the price. Federal prosecutors in Los Angeles have charged five of them with various fraud allegations. They began overhauling McNall's assets, and underestimating his debts to obtain loans for his various loss causes. They have pleaded guilty, and are expected to be sentenced in the new year, while the others have indicated that they will enter guilty pleas. McNall, who is married and has two kids, has co-operated with investigators and, according to some reports, has been attempting to negotiate a jail term. "He hasn't turned into a recluse or lost 40 pounds," says Harry Orenstein, 71, a semi-retired Beverly Hills businessman who sold the Argos to McNall in 1981. "His soccer or lawn, Bruce is going to the car, and the talk is right as rain years."

Meanwhile, McNall is helping a bankruptcy trustee sell off the assets of his apartment Hollywood lifestyle. His properties in Malibu and Palm Springs have been sold for undisclosed amounts, and his 13,000-sq-ft house is on the market for \$8 million. He is also plotting with his sons, including a Billy-Rayne and an

Aaron-Martin, and the 58 thoroughbred race horses he held shares in, or owned outright. The Bering 727 jet, purchased for the Kings in 1989 at a cost of \$6.8 million, fetched \$672,000, and the trustee is trying to unload McNall's 28-percent interest in the team—he sold the balance last May for \$30 million.

McNall, noted in a middle-class L.A. family—his mother was a lab technician and his father a bacteriology professor—built a far



McNall and Gaudy after Argos' Grey Cup triumph in 1991 (right)

more once educated at \$200 million out of his childhood raised with rare coins. By his late teens, he was a prosperous Beverly Hills dealer and, in 1974, at age 24, he paid \$420,000—a world record—for a 25th-century African decorative vase. Then, in the early 1980s, he got really rich by acting as a broker for Texas oil billionaires Herbert and Nelson Brothers (that's him, besides trying to corner the world silver market, acquired the world's largest coin collection).

In a story published last April in *Vanity Fair*, McNall admitted that many of his race cars and unique artworks (the second opus in his Los Angeles shops had been awarded *Figuralis* in Turkey or Italy by professional smugglers. He also revealed that he had on several occasions smuggled objects of cultural value out of Mediterranean countries. But in the *Los Angeles Times* of the 1980s, the origins of his results were far less important than the simple fact that he had it. McNall bought about 35 percent of the Kings in 1989 and became sole

owner in March, 1989. Six months later, he completed the Gretzky deal for \$17 million.

Although Gretzky was initially bitter about leaving Edmonton and the Stanley Cup champion Oilers, he and McNall quickly became friends and partners. At the time of McNall's bankruptcy, they were partners in four doughnut-race horses. They also paid \$450,000 for a rare 1915 baseball card of Horace Wagner, a Pittsburgh Pirate shortstop. Their most cherished venture in Canada was the acquisition—along with the late comedian John Candy—of *Goalball's* Argos. Recently, Gretzky indicated that he was on his last moments at less than \$2 million—but there is no indication that the Great One will become embroiled in McNall's financial troubles. The only mention of Gretzky in the charges referred to him as an investor in a horse that McNall had used as collateral for a loan. The charges state that McNall sought the loan without his partner's permission and falsely represented himself to the bank as the horse's sole owner.

According to some sources, McNall's production were developing even as he pulled off one dramatic sports move after another between 1986 and 1992. In the early 1980s, demand for rare coins, particularly among his wealthy Hollywood clientele, began to drop. One businesswoman and friend, who asked to remain anonymous, estimates that McNall lost up to \$500 million in the numismatic business even though his production company, Golden Entertainment, charged a fee out of several hits, including *The Fabulous Baker* film.

But McNall's opulent style helped hide his problems. He flew to Toronto at his Bering 727 for the Argos' 1991 home opener, and his guests included actors Marcel Hinz and Jim Belushi. Dan Aykroyd led the Blues Brothers Band in a half-time performance. Before each Kings home game, McNall presided dinner for as many as 50 people at a private club in the Forum, serving entertainers like Candy and actress Goldie Hawn, as well as his buddies. "It's no surprise that a guy like Bruce McNall fooled the bankers," said one former associate. "They got to sit at the owner's table. They met Goldie. Most bankers have never gotten close to something like this." And, after the astronomical bill of Bruce McNall, most are probably shocked they didn't.

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PEOPLE

HALIFAX GRUNGE

Just three years ago, they were four Halifax art students who couldn't play a note. Now, under the same *pile*, with a first album released from Seattle, the home of grunge rock, they are being touted as one of the hottest new bands in Canada. In person, they are **Alexis MacLeod** (drums), **Ive Horling** (guitar), **Jennifer Pearce** (bass) and **Laura Stein** (singer), and their new release, *Dense Gals*, is selling briskly across the country. They could hardly play their instruments when the band was formed early in 1992, and their first two were driven by what they saw as the charming lack of proficiency that they worked hard on their music and were some touring bands with strong vocal harmonies and powerful playing skills. Turning throughout Canada and the eastern United States, they came to the attention of the Sub Pop record label when they released an independent three-song



pile's Pearce (left), Stein, Horling, MacLeod: hitting the right note

SONG LINES

She has received thousands of awards for her extraordinary singing voice. But now it's, *long* on and a songwriting trophy to her name! Last week, long and her musical partner, **Blas Mink**, was the protagonist William Harold Mack Award at a ceremony held in Toronto. Sponsored by NORCA, the Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada, the award recognizes the international attention focused on Canadian songwriting by the enormous success of her 1992 album, *Jealousy*. The album has sold more than 3.5 million copies around the world. With the award, long and Mink join the ranks of such legendary songwriters as **Leonard Cohen** and **Gordon Lightfoot**. Long, a native of Chatham, Alta., said the prize is especially important to her because she always wanted to be known as more than just a singer. "All my biggest influences were singer-songwriters," she says, citing fellow Canadians **Joni Mitchell** and **Jane Sibbery**. Added long,



Narveson: beginning life without music

GEARING DOWN

After rolling over the competition for years, **Maurice Narveson** now plans to roll as down the highway and begin his life away from politics. Narveson, the most successful female tennis player of all time, ended a 22-year career

last week with a flood of tributes, a flood of tears and a parting gift of a new Harley-Davidson motorcycle. Although Narveson, 36, lost to **Gabriela Sabatini** of Argentina in the first round of the Virginia Slims Championships at New York City, after her last match a banner bearing her name was raised in the rafters of Madison Square Garden where it will hang permanently. Narveson, a native of the Cayo Republic, defected to the United States at the 1975 U.S. Open. Since then she has won 107 singles tournaments, including 14 Grand Slam singles titles and nine Wimbledon singles titles. Between 1975 and 1987, she spent 381 weeks ranked No. 1 in the world. Over the past few years, however, Narveson, who lives in Aspen, Colo., and is openly gay, has been in the news as much for her support of animal rights and environmental groups as for her tennis prowess. Narveson said that she could have continued her career "but," she added, "This really is my gift to the world. This really is my new life."

NORTHERN EXPOSURE

For Edmonton-based writer **Wally Wiebe** much of the majesty and mystery of Canada as he found as he the North. And so it was no surprise that last week Wiebe, who was awarded Governor General's Award for fiction for his latest novel, *A Dictionary of Strangers*—a stunning account of the John Franklin's first expedition to the Arctic (1819/1820) and the sometimes tragic interplay between his explorers and the Northwest Indians. "It's a very Canadian story," said Wiebe who's riding out such high-profile fellow nominees as **Magnum Wood** and **Alvin Moore** to take the award, which comes with a \$10,000 cheque. "And we really need to tell each other those kinds of stories that we have." Wiebe, who also won a 1975 Governor General's Award for his novel, *The Tomatoes of Big Bear*, will have a chance to gauge the impact of his new book on a northern audience when he travels to the Northwest Territories in January for a series of public readings.



Wiebe: mystery and mystery

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Joni presently Canadian

23 "As a child, I was always hyperactive and Canadian artists, **Murray**—from **Blair Steward**. And I always felt a sense of pride when a Canadian was doing well." It seems that long, who now lives most of the year in Los Angeles, remains Canadian—and still very pro-Canadian.

The brain strain

Attacking liberal notions of racial equality,
The Bell Curve sets off a fire storm of debate

Whether the other names of *The Bell Curve*, malleability is not one of them. In its 445 pages, Harvard University psychologist Richard J. Herrnstein and political scientist Charles Murray mount a test-crunching assault of statistics, charts, theoretical constructs and correlation values. But despite its density, the book has become a publishing phenomenon in the United States, where over the month since its release it has set off a fire storm of debate. The major points of Herrnstein and Murray's argument have ramifications beyond America's borders; they go to the heart of race, class and the value that society places on human beings.

Simply stated, Herrnstein, who died of lung cancer last August, and Murray say that IQ (short for "intelligence quotient," as noted on standardized tests) is a determining factor in success or failure in life. Because the marketplace increasingly values jobs requiring high intelligence, smart people are winning as increasingly scarce wealth and security. Conversely, people of low intelligence account disproportionately for America's social ills—poverty, unemployment, welfare dependency, illegitimacy and crime. That attribution of society, the authors argue, demands a radical shift in American social policy. Not surprisingly, the shift is to the right—Murray is a conservative ideologue, and the authors' prescription calls for the abolition of welfare, an end to affirmative action programs and a reevaluation of such government programs as Head Start, which provides a preschool education for disadvantaged kids.



Murray: sounding a rallying cry for the "cognitive elite"

lies in its headline of the theory none of intelligence and race. Herrnstein and Murray claim that blacks, on average, are less intelligent than whites, citing as evidence the fact that African Americans typically score about 15 points lower than white Americans on standard IQ tests. Japan—at least those from Japan, China "and perhaps Korea"—are smarter than whites typically scoring about three points higher on IQ tests. And then the crux of their argument: the authors contend that between 60 and 80 per cent of cognitive ability is genetic, and therefore heritable. That, they maintain, means that blacks score lower on IQ tests, on average at least in part because they are born that way—this is, they are born "dull." And try as one might, the authors argue, efforts to improve cognitive ability through better education or better living conditions will always have limited returns because of the genetic factor. But the so-called consensus remains sharply divided on the heritability of intelligence—especially when it is linked to race. "Is genetic class, classification based on skin color given as



groupings that are biologically meaningless," wrote David Suzuki in a recent Toronto Star column criticizing *The Bell Curve*. "For a start, as complex as intelligence, there are lots of routes to neurological environmental conditions that affect it."

Not surprisingly, J. Philippe Russett, a psychologist at the University of Western Ontario, is among Herrnstein and Murray's supporters. After all, in his new book, *Race, Ethnicity and Behavior*, Russett runs even more emphatically the alleged link between race and intelligence. Of *The Bell Curve*, he told *McGraw-Hill*. "I think it's a superb book,



and superb scholarship. It has the potential to alter the way we look at human beings."

To others, however, that very potential is worrisome. In the first, Ad white IQ is difficult for the lay reader to square with the data. *The Bell Curve* compares from a wide array of sources, its underlying assumptions have been widely questioned. Among the more compelling—and contentious—issues raised:

• *Are intelligence tests meaningful?* Central to Herrnstein and Murray's argument is their belief in an entity known as *g*, for "general intelligence." That is a "unary mental ability," the product of statistical analyses of IQ test scores made by former British army officer Charles Spearman in 1904. Tests of *g*, like any standardized test at academic achievement, measure general intelligence; is some degree and the authors say, the scores patch "whatever it is that people mean when they use the word *judgment* or *smart* in ordinary language."

They claim that the validity of IQ tests are secure that are now "beyond significant technical dispute" among psychologists—despite the nagging idea that psychometrics, by definition, are people in

the business of measuring cognitive ability as if it were quantifiable. As Herrnstein and Murray acknowledge, however, more dissent remains. Howard Gardner, a Harvard psychologist who *The Bell Curve* authors dub "a radical," dismisses the concept of *g* and argues instead that there are many types of intelligence—linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, and so called "personal intelligence" based on social skills. Gardner's theory seems more consistent with actual human experience: how does one measure the "intelligence" of Michael Jordan's magical maneuvers in the basketball court, or Charlie Parker's inspired improvisations on the saxophone?

• *What is the validity of socioeconomic status on IQ scores?* Herrnstein and Murray spend more than half their book arguing that socioeconomic performance and intelligence are linked—people who score better on IQ tests, they say, tend to do better in life, both socially and financially.

At this point, a chicken-or-egg argument presents itself. Rather than us looking to socioeconomic success or failure, it could also be the case that IQ is a measure of a

group's socioeconomic history—that is, an ethnic group may score low because the tests measure ability to function in a political or economic system that excludes it from full participation. Catholics in Northern Ireland, for instance, have scored lower than Protestants in South Africa, blacks have scored lower than the middle-class "Colored" who scored lower than whites—a scale that seems to follow the three groups' relative status under apartheid. In passing, Herrnstein and Murray mention that blacks in the South presently score lower than blacks in the northern states. Is that coincidence? Or do the IQ tests as many critics argue, simply mirror socioeconomic inequalities—and in this case demonstrate that northern blacks have migrated more fully into white American society? What effect does a history of slavery, racism and poverty have on intelligence? And what effect does self-esteem have on intelli-

gence in a test situation? In other words, it is impossible to "factor out" socioeconomic history in any comparison of racial differences.

• *What effect does culture have on intelligence?* Herrnstein and Murray say that 30 years today have no significant cultural losses, but other critics, such as anthropologist Philip Barbour, author of *Intelligence: The Cultural Context of Social Progress*, contend that such growth has deeper implications. "What they're calling it is an American hope—class and classless—but the West doesn't," she told *McGraw-Hill's* *Executive*. It produced all of modern technology and science. Anyone who wants to enter into the command machinery of the world, as I hope many young African Americans do, must learn that style. It is a very narrow style—like chess. But is identity that narrow thing with all human intelligence a madness. It is folly."

Even if everything Herrnstein and Murray claim were true, so what? The authors frequently caution readers not to draw real-life conclusions from their statistical analyses. "We cannot think of a legitimate argument why any difference between individual whites and blacks need be affected by the known edge that an aggressive ethnic difference in measured intelligence is genetic instead of environmental," they write. That might seem dangerous—what is the point of arguing for broad racial differences if they have no bearing on individuals?

• *The Bell Curve* is not only a scientific treatise, however; it is also an in-character polemic. In the more readable sections of the book, it is clear that the authors are concerned more with arguing than investigating. In 1971, Herrnstein, the psychologist of the duo, published an article in *The Atlantic* magazine railing roughly the same points about genetics, IQ and social standing in *The Bell Curve* does. The article met with wide approval from the media, and Herrnstein was branded a racist. In his latest, *The Bell Curve* can be seen as his first salvo in an ongoing academic debate.

The book's analysis and conclusions are consistent with the concerns of the American conservative movement that Murray represents. Whereas the authors' many other subjects on a dubious standard that they themselves created, something called the Middle-Class Values Inventory. Conversely, as the standard, how is it something to not define—and soon—the welfare state will become a "custodial state" for "dull" people, a "more lenient version of the Indian reservation."

It is hard not to wonder why Herrnstein and Murray spent so much grey matter formulating arguments that are not and part of two already well-established ideologies. One—which argues that some people, mostly the rich, have an intrinsically greater value to society than others—us called *elitism*. The other—which holds that some people, because of their color, are inferior to others—is called *racism*.

A journey of the heart

Adult adoptees press governments to open up their birth records

Cecilia has always known she was adopted. Her parents, Sharon and John Cashore—the latter, British Columbia's minister of Aboriginal Affairs—knew her complexion, Cecilia's dark hair and eyes that, her parents explained, came from her birth father, a native Canadian; her birth mother was of French-Canadian origin but that was never enough for the young girl growing up in Vancouver. Were her birth parents beautiful and rich, she wondered, or drug-takers on Duane Street? In 1985, at the age of 24 and soon after the birth of her first child, Cecilia Cashore—her married name—went looking for the answers.

She gave what information she had to Parents Inquiries, a private adoption support group with chapters in Vancouver. Three days later, after consulting their database of parents and adoptees who had voluntarily registered, agency workers located Cecilia what she had been looking for: her birth mother's number. The woman, Margaret Wood, a housewife who has been married to the same man for 25 years, was ecstatic about finding her daughter—but only child—after 12 years of searching. "A spot in my heart was always empty," says Wood, an armed mother when she gave up her daughter under family pressure. Cecilia's birth father is a hereditary child sex, for Cecilia, a window into an exciting world that she would otherwise have known little about. "I love my adoptive parents," she says, "but they can't give me my own history."

The vast majority of reunions between adopted children and their birth parents are not so easily arranged. Without identifying information, such as an unusual birth name or birth circumstances, most searches must resort to provincial government agencies, which keep confidential records of all adoptions. But the names of birth parents cannot be released until the parent, usually the mother, has been located—a process that can take months or longer—and grants permis-

sion. In recent years, the demand for such information has escalated sharply, as children born in the late 1960s and 1970s, the peak years for adoption, reach adulthood. This has resulted in long waiting lists for adoption information in some provinces in Ontario alone, the last contents thousands of names, which translates into waiting periods of six years or more. In response, three provinces have announced in the past year that they plan to open their adoption records. If legislation is implemented in Ontario, British Columbia and Nova Scotia, adoptees will be able to gain immediate access to their birth records, with certain exceptions to protect adopters and birth parents who request anonymity.

Of course, for all the buzz about a reunion with a birth parent or adopted child can bring, the meeting can also be fraught with emotional pain. Adoptees often find that their relationship, not envisioned at the time of the adoption, they experience, which can range from joy to disappointment to outrage when a birth parent fails to respond or establish a relationship. Some birth parents have actively opposed open records, claiming at least one province, Alberta, to abandon the idea. Others and men, however, social workers and psychologists have come to advocate open records. In addition to sorting basic information such as medical background, others often need to meet a birth parent to understand fully why they were given up. "The lives of many adoptees begin at Chapter 2," says University of Guelph psychology professor Michael Sobel, Canada's leading expert on adoption and the co-author of a recent national study. "Finding their birth parents is part of their personal growth and helps complete their identity."

Cecilia Rockie and her family are an example of the joy that can result when all members of the adoption triangle work

Wood (left), Rockie and Sharon Cashore—emotional reunions

together. Her mother, Sharon Cashore, was an inmate to the lives that many adoptive parents experience to maintain anonymity. "When Cecilia met Margaret, I was afraid she might love or avoid me too," says Cashore, now 53. "But the whole experience has been really wonderful. It has strengthened our relationship, not weakened it." According to Sobel, adoptive parents like Cashore who fully support a child's search for birth parents feel their relationship with their child to be enhanced. "It's like saying, 'I love you so much that I will help you look,'" he says.

Things can go wrong, however. Robert Kirner, 35, a freelance writer who lives in Montreal, attracted for his birth mother through a Quebec government social agency in 1969. Three years after his first request, a social worker located his mother, but told Kirner that she refused to see him. "I was stunned," he recalls. "The refusal left me numb." It has not, however, and his adoptive mother, or carried his determination to find her. "I don't want to cause shame and pain," he says, "and I don't want a reunion story, but my right to know is greater than her right to privacy."

Kirner's daughter is typical of adoptees whose search has been thwarted. Partly for that reason, the proposed legislation in Que-

bec, which has passed second reading, would allow adoptees to retrieve the name of their birth parents even if the parents have notified the government that they do not wish to be found that if adoptees attempt to make contact with such cases, they would be subject to a fine of up to \$5,000. Birth parents would not have a similar right to the names of the children they have placed for adoption. I am looking for a policy that will work with the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, says that other countries with open records have found that withholding names does not work. "It just makes people mad, and they end up looking harder," she says. "But if they have the name and the reason for release, they tend to respect that." Ontario is alone in this absence of a complete view. The recent revelations in British Columbia and New South Wales have not yet been converted into legislation—call for opening the records to other birth parents or children, but not if either party objects.

Freedom to search, however, may bring with it freedom to stumble. Under the current

'Finding their birth parents is part of their personal gestalt and helps them complete their identity'

system, searches with the government agencies—the not expensive—must go through an intermediary. Although that can make for slow progress, it ensures that the potential emotional impact of a reunion, or of refusal, can be cushioned by the counselling of a trained third party. "An intermediary is absolutely vital," says Marilyn Wildercombe, a social worker in Montreal, who has been the go-between for many adoptees. "You just never know what you are going to find when you open that file. It can often be very traumatic for everyone involved." With the advent of open records, searches will be free to bypass counselling and go straight to the person they are seeking.

One 30-year-old Toronto woman, who requested anonymity, wants no part of that kind of surprise contact. When she gave birth at the age of 15 to her son, not even her sisters and brothers knew of her pregnancy. "It leaves a little void in your soul that never goes away," she says, wondering how her parents handled her at a home for unwed

mothers, left her to go through labor alone and that never spoke of the event again. "I may want to see my son someday, but I can't live it yet," says the woman, who has two young daughters. "I said I didn't do this for the child's great damage, if the parent does not want to meet. It's too painful a rejection."

The ultimate protection from such upheavals, others say, is simply not to search. Robert Macdonald, 31, says that he is perfectly content not to know anything about his birth parents. A salesman for a greenhouse company in Sherbrooke, N.S., Macdonald says the absence of birth parents has not entered any sign in his sense of personal identity. "I consider my parents to be my parents, and I'm content with that," he says. "I don't know why I was adopted, but I'm sure there was a good reason for it."

Many adoptive parents feel even more strongly. One southwestern Ontario woman, who asked not to be named, believed that her adult adopted daughter might be profoundly disturbed if her birth parents appeared in her life. "My daughter does not think of herself as adopted, and I choose not to think of her as adopted," she says. "For her mother, that is. If it was decided not to keep her child, that is the severance of it."

But according to Sobel, adopters who generally have no interest in looking for their birth parents are in the minority. "Most have an acute desire to know about their roots," he says, "although many of them never actually initiate a search." Many of those who do—and whose stories have happy endings—have become reunited to the cause. "There's a lot of continuity in our world," says Michael Shyerer, 40, a member of the Ontario Adoption Council, who has located his own birth parents. "We've not lost to look for new parents—our adoptive mothers and dads are our parents. But not knowing who your birth parents are is a missing link."

The root of the problem experienced by many adoptees, Sobel says, is the painful secrecy that commonly surrounded adoption in the pre-war period. Adoption was best, Sobel says, when it is fully and fully talked about by adoptive parents and their children. For that reason Sobel believes that all future adoptions should be conducted differently than in the past. Instead of assuring birth parents of lifelong privacy—an agreement that, once made, should be kept, he emphasizes—anyone giving a child for adoption should be aware that his or her name may be released when the child reaches the age of 18. "When you fully disclose," Sobel says, "you leave the door open for an adoptive family who are the very ones that cause any other family work apart communications, acknowledgment of differences and concern about personal identity." In all age of interesting arguments, access to a full family history may soon become a fundamental right.

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LIFE

One woman's story

A writer finds her birth parents—and peace of mind

BY MICHELLE McCOLM

At 15, I had a favorite tree by the river across the road from my family's house. After school, I'd sit on a bench and look down, listening to my transient radio. Sometimes I'd cry as I pondered the reflection in the water below. Who was this person?

My first storybook, read to me by my parents, was about adoption. It explored how loved and wanted I was by my adoptive family. And yet, even as a child of 6, I knew that

They took pride in their Scottish ancestry; bagpipers attended weddings and funerals, genealogy books were porred over at holiday gatherings and a huge replacement family tree adorned my cousins' living room. That I was adopted came that true and somewhere had a line of my own, went much overlooked during these occasions. I felt isolated and depressed, and guilty for having these feelings. My family took it for granted that I was "one of them." But my history was important to me, too.

Until recently, families regarded adoption as a source not only of joy but of embarrassment. Adoptees were, after all, "illegitimate" children. Although I didn't know the word, I experienced its implications through tauntings at school, comments from neighbors, trips to the doctor. I remember sitting at the dining table as my mother blushed and lowered her eyes when asked, "Does this dress run in your family?"

"I don't know," she'd reply. "She was adopted." My parents shared with me what they'd been told about my past. I was of German ancestry. My birth mother was young, unmarried, and loved me; her father pressured her into giving me up. He made her give up my birth father, as well, although they had planned to marry. Once, my adoptive dad told me I could see my "papers" anytime I wanted. My mom, on the other hand, felt hurt and threatened by my interest. I stopped asking for a while.

A year later, when I was 17, my adoptive mother stood at the threshold of my room and tearfully asked a serious look. "This was given to us by our social worker when we adopted you," she said. "It's from your birth mother." As I touched the satin sash, held the tiny carved deer and necklace inside, my mom explained that these gifts had originally belonged to three generations of women: mother, grandmother, great-grandmother. For the first time in my life, I knew unequivocally that I hadn't been cal-



McCormick: "My family took it for granted that I was 'one of them.' But my history was important to me, too."

something was missing from the story. What happened to my first memory? I felt I must have done something really horrible for my own mother to have given me away. I was four months old in 1958 when a Toronto family adopted me. My sister was born to my adoptive parents two years after. While she grew up knowing about her "wee-wee birth," I was "born" in haste from the agency. I concluded that I was an alien—labeled, not born. The others were sons of their efforts.

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lously "rescued." I came from a thoughtful, loving woman.

My adoptive mother died in 1986. A year later, I decided to search for my roots, knowing that she could no longer be my first by then. I had my father's blessings, but evoked the shock of others.

Why was I looking for my parents? I wasn't. At 38 years old, who needs new parents? They also worried that I would "disrupt" my birth mother's life. Yet my own life had been grossly disrupted by the day I was separated from my mother, my life and my past, and placed into the hands of strangers: nurses, social workers, foster parents and, finally, my adoptive parents. But what about the risk of discovering the strangers who were my birth family? To me, any gain was worth the risk.

I sent my application to Ontario's Adoption Development Registry. Two months later, I received a letter stating that my birth mother had also registered. Initially, we exchanged photos and letters. Her pictures revealed the same sunny hair, the same bump on the nose and freckle curves of my and leg—no! My sense of belonging was immediate. Even more surprising than the physical resemblance was her letters. Several friends incredulously commented that she

sounded like me: her love of nature, her descriptive style.

The day before our meeting, I considered bringing her a rose. Frigidaired, I decided against it. I didn't even know this woman, why should I bring her anything?

"When we met, we embraced wordlessly, tears flowing. Then, she handed me a long-stemmed red rose."

When we met, we embraced wordlessly, tears flowing. Then, she handed me a long-stemmed red rose. When she learned of my original intent, she said, "We'll share this one."

My birth mother welcomed me with open arms, as did her husband and two young sons. I later met my birth father and his son and daughter, widening the circle.

Not all responses were positive, however. During a party, my birth mother introduced me to one of her acquaintances, who knew nothing of my existence. Pointing at my secondary finger at me, one of them exclaimed, "You're not her daughter." She

doesn't have a daughter." The rest of them easily accepted me.

I believed my reunion would answer all the questions my childhood storybook had neglected. Yet my mother had forgotten the details of my birth, saying the trauma of giving up her child had made them too painful to remember. Long ago, she destroyed the first photo of me as an infant, trying to do as she was told, to get on with her life. After all, we were never to meet again.

We not only met but traveled to Europe together the following year. There, I visited relatives I could not speak with. But I gazed into their eyes, heard their laughter and saw my ancestors' heartbeat. I reclaimed my history.

I continue to visit my birth family, and sometimes they gather with me and my adoptive family. We're still all getting to know each other; there's a lot to catch up on.

Recently, my husband and I were walking on a break fall afternoon. I showed him that time by the river where I had cried and was dried who I was. Only this time, the pain had lessened, giving way to the peace of knowing where I came from, and who I am. I now feel both loved and whole.

Melody McClell, 31, lives in Toronto and is the author of *The Surprises of Adoption* (Harvill).

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special effects, there is barely enough character development in *Generations* to keep the viewer watching.

Much of that chain falls on the shoulders of the android Data, a Protheser figure who dreams of becoming human. In the movie, Data appears as "poltronous" brain with an "emotion chip"—and the effect, as actor Spiner takes his character through a torrent of human emotions, is very funny. Spiner, for his part, "Data hates it, the 'ho," I just don't associate the life-force." After seven seasons as the despatch Data on television, Spiner says, the movie metamorphosis "was an opportunity for me to cool down."

That sense of life seems to come from the actors as much as the script. Unlike the well-known audibly aware crew members of the original crew, production people to promote the TNG cast—the actors did those people really like our audience is clear throughout the movie. "They are the best group of people I have ever worked with," declares Stewart, a veteran of the Royal Shakespeare Company. "We continue to be happy in each other's company socially as we were on the set at the service." John Spiner: "Basically, we all looked forward to going to work every day, because we were going to have fun with our friends. And you just want people can say that about their jobs."

And how did Spiner—a type-A personality if there ever was one—fit into that anarchic role? "I had a wonderful of a reputation of being tough to work with," says Stewart, "and there had also been suggestions that he had been making negative remarks about our show. But we reached all of that, and I found him a delightful and entertaining person." In the movie, Spiner delivers his own view admirably: the episode connecting to Kirk largely at check, although in the closing sequences he let out all the stops. And the scenes between him and Stewart are a delight to watch—two nerdy actors trading barbs. "I was not sure if that's the policy," says Kirk to Picard at one point, "before your principle was still in the process."

In the end, of course, it does not really matter whether *Generations* is good (it is) or terrible, because devotees of the *Star Trek* phenomenon will have to see it one way or another. And while the cast may differ, the movie's humorous, sentimental sense of the future remains basically the same: not that Gene Roddenberry created in the 1960s. "He's always talking on our shoulders," says Bertram. "We're always dancing. Would this be right for Gene? Neither the Kirk nor his previous versions of *Star Trek* are my visions of the future. They're all Gene Roddenberry's. And I know of us who do this are all kind of agreed on to parody their vision."

Another movie: Inhabiting the TNG cast is precisely inevitable—Bertram says that he is already "starting to play with some ideas." And with the launch of *Traveller* next year and the continuing success of *Deep Space Nine*, there is no indication that the allure of the *Star Trek* mythology is fading. *Star Trek* in all its manifestations seems destined to, as Spiker might say, keep going and profit. □

Captain of enterprise

William Shatner says uncertainty in the stars—his stars, that is. "I've got a lot of things happening, and I don't know how it's going to turn out," says the Montreal-born actor, 50. His latest projects include a new TV series (*TelWar*), two new books (*Star Trek Movie Memories* and *TelPower*), two upcoming *Star Trek* novels, a continuing host spot on the drama-and-real-TV show *Recess 99*, not to mention a new movie (*Star Trek: Generations*). Another chicken about his seemingly impossible work schedule. But then, the famous, emphatic voice kicks in, laced with generosity and high drama: the voice of James Tiberius Kirk. "Success is so," Shatner begins, then pauses to if

play. Beyond Shatner, Michelle Nichols, who played the communications officer, criticizes Shatner for his domineering manner on set. And in his recent autobiography, *To the Stars*, George Takei (American Sulu) brags on Shatner for a perceived disregard for himself. Nichols, James Doohan (Scotty), and Walter Koenig (Chekov), "Like my large family, you have that Uncle Sam that you just can't stand." Takei had misheard. "I'm certainly in a tolerant mood. But he's got his flaws, as we all do. Unfortunately, he reflects his flaws on the rest of us."

Shatner actually dealt with such criticism in his 1993 book, *Star Trek Memories*. While filming the original series, he concedes, he was going through a difficult period in his personal life—including the breakdown of his marriage to Diana Road. Still, he says of the criticism, "I never did understand the reasons. I never had a harsh word with them, and I don't know if they were mad. I suspect a lot of it is that they're in the act of making books." Two of the disgruntled originals—Doohan and Koenig—appear in *Generations*, but director David Carson says that they and Shatner "worked together extremely well." None of what anybody might have feared came to be.

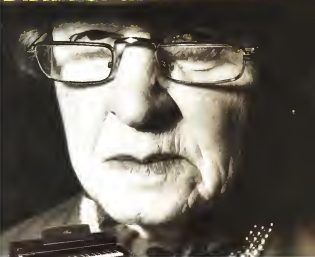
Now, the future is what concerns Shatner. *TelWar*, an action series set in 2045 based on his old *Star Trek* character, runs right the Los Angeles-based Shatner back to Canada as the show's executive producer. *TelWar*, which premieres on TV on Dec. 1, is being shot by Atlanta Films Ltd. in Toronto, where Shatner, who directs and co-stars in several episodes, expects with typical enthusiasm. "There is a Canadian pool of talent in every form that is as good as the best I've ever worked with," he says.

As for *Star Trek*, Shatner, who recently celebrated his 50th birthday, who, as actor, Marty Muller, is philosophical about his final voyage. The original cast, he says, "got expensive and all that, but we also had gotten older. And the question, I guess, is Paramount's need to see how long would the audience pay to see old men trying to remember their lives? And no, the end of *Star Trek* takes place in the context of the end of every thing."

Shatner agrees, thinks over his intention of mortality—and then his voice brightens with a statement that could have been written for Capt. Kirk. "I try not to think of it as the end," he says, "but as a chance for a new adventure."

JOE CRADLEY

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Making beautiful music together

The women play songs, or they play at love



Fanny (left), Tandy—two actresses become soul mates in a film not shared on the left. Tandy's graceful soul from the screen

Canadian cinema has a well-kept secret: its most successful, colorful, and fun movies are Canadian movies. *For the Moment*, *The Circle Game*, and *For the Moment* are all recent Canadian films that have found a wide audience in the U.S. and Canada. *For the Moment* is a Second World War romance about a French wife betraying her absent husband. But they are all tales of everyday life, stories of the heart featuring well-known Canadian actors who have had a major impact on the film industry.

For the Moment is the most significant and accomplished of the three films. It is an odd hybrid—a personal film that has a distinctly Canadian flavor. It is a story of a young woman, Tandy and her husband, Fanny, and Canada's co-producers, and a story that takes place on the beaches of Grosse Pointe in Toronto, a city that has been a major Canadian center of the film industry since the 1940s.

The film originated with the real-life experience of Toronto musician Al Jennings, who got to know an angry young man in a studio on the U.S. eastern seaboard. That is inspired Al's sister, Canadian producer Christine Jennings, to write a short story, which author Peter Quaresima (aka Al Jennings), a family friend, turned into a classically beautiful script. Directed by Toronto-

based filmmaker Dennis Hecker, *For the Moment* is a delicate, almost fragile composition. At times the film's understated narrative seems to lose its bearings. But *For the Moment* is a movie that is in the end, about itself. It is a movie that is in the end, about itself. It is a movie that is in the end, about itself.

For the Moment is a thoughtful, sensitive work with an elaborate personal mythology. She loves telling us that *For the Moment* is a movie that is in the end, about itself. It is a movie that is in the end, about itself. It is a movie that is in the end, about itself.

With her parents and her name, Al Jennings, Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film. Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film. Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film.

Toronto's restored Winter Garden Theatre, the site of Canada's legendary theatre, is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

The movie then winds through a series of letters. East Indian actor Rajee Chowdhry performs a comic turn as a backwoods poet. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

Canada's film industry is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

actor, and Tandy strikes her juicy role with admirable gusto.

Her performance eloquently outlines the idea that age and beauty can coexist. In one scene, she gleefully throws off her clothes to go skinny dipping. Later, she plays a tough scene in bed with an old flame, played by her real-life husband, actor James Craven. Toward the end of the film during her moments with Craven, the highlight that this is Tandy's last performance transcends whatever she could be in bed.

Before her death, the actress was the film and expressed some regret that it was with Craven had been cut. Last week, the film-makers revealed the movie to recreate the scene, a remarkably tender moment in which Craven's character declares his love by citing a line from a John Musker poem—"I was deep and a sweet dream when the last light was over." With the tender love of Craven's odyssey, a great actress—whose memorial service takes place this week in New York City's Shubert Theatre—has found a good end.

The Circle Game is another tale of two women in which emotional and musical survival are at stake. It marks the dramatic debut of Toronto-based writer-director Brigitte Berman, who won an Oscar in 1987 for her documentary feature about a paraplegic, *After School*. *The Circle Game* is a movie that is in the end, about itself. It is a movie that is in the end, about itself.

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Craven (left), Rolston, sharing pleasures

secret that triggers a bitter love dispute. In many of its details, *The Circle Game* has an affecting quality. The portrait of Tandy's life is a love story, and the second track, by the same, is a love story. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

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With her parents and her name, Al Jennings, Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film. Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film. Fanny finds a soul mate in the real-life Canadian film.

secret drama and a makeshift settlement. For *The Moment*, a dramatic drama on a larger canvas, presents a showdown between economic realism and family loyalty during the Second World War. Written and directed by Winnipeg-based filmmaker Aaron W. Johnson (*The Last Winter*), it is set in a prairie town continuously during the 1940s. And it bears a strong resemblance to *For the Moment*. Alberta-born director Aaron W. Johnson's 1988 movie about a woman who falls for a handsome stranger while her husband is off at war, *Like Water*. For *The Moment*, Johnson's Winnipeg-based writer-director has based his story on the experiences of his own parents. But, while *For the Moment* plays the romance in *For the Moment* unrequited, Johnson at least allows his characters to get it on.

Christiane Hart (*Loveless Love*) plays Lila, a woman who falls for a handsome stranger while her husband is off at war, *Like Water*. For *The Moment*, Johnson's Winnipeg-based writer-director has based his story on the experiences of his own parents. But, while *For the Moment* plays the romance in *For the Moment* unrequited, Johnson at least allows his characters to get it on.

Hart and Craven bring an engaging charm to the movie's central romance, one that gets of the ground. Canada, who received a Golden Globe nomination for her role, contains a real Canadian story line, an American story line, and a Canadian story line. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

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Spies in the house of love

THREE COLOURS: RED
Directed by Krzysztof Kieslowski

For those who miss going to exquisite but expensive European restaurants, the movie is a long post-mortem discussion over drinks to figure out what on earth they were alive. And it is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

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statue boyfriend who lives in England and tries to keep tabs on her by phone. She feels about her estranged brother, who is a judge. And it is a movie, her performance of a British woman. The film is a movie, her performance of a British woman.

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Armchair hockey

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Pick the *National Hockey League* lockout issue as its spirit week, since it gives you the best fix for the long, but this season, there is a wealth of hockey books to satisfy some of that yearning for ice time. A selection

Wayne Gretzky (William: 177 pages, \$39.95) a hand-somely produced pictorial biography has the ideal subject—a star whose rivalry like stature in Canada is bound to sell books and whose father, Walter, never went anywhere without his camera. That camera produced many of the most engaging photographs in the collection—at a wide-eyed, big-eyed look growing up in Brantford, Ont., awkward in his Sunday best, proud, stoic a trifle long of the backyard rink. But Gretzky is full of compelling images from other sources too, especially of the hockey eye's own children—Pembey, 5, Ty, 4 and Trevor, 2, all lower in Beverly Hills—and of his extraordinary hockey career. In the league play's limited time, *memories* by Vancouver *Province* columnist Jim Taylor details Gretzky's childhood life and superhuman athletic achievements through anecdotes that paint a human portrait of the man. Taylor knows the Gretzky—he co-wrote a book with Walter a decade ago—and his most recent effort reveals how much of what Wayne learned in Brantford still guides him today.

The rink with Gretzky, however, is far less a moving target. The book—both in pictures and in print—ends last spring, when Gretzky scored his 902nd career 500 goal and surpassed the elusive stan-



William: Gretzky and Hockey, Howe (quest): intense play and rivalry

and was paid for less than many other hockey players of his era. But perhaps remembering his father's self-satisfaction never to back down, Howe deflected his no one on the ice. And on Feb. 8, 1978, Howe's aggressive side was laid bare in what MacMillan's classic was one of the most violent fights in hockey history, where New York Rangers enforcer (Loupin) Lou Fontana was hospitalized after he clashed with Howe. But Howe, now 35 and living in Michigan, is easily remembered for the 325 goals he scored as a right winger—a record that still stands today.

Joan Billman: My Life in Hockey (McGraw-Hill & Simon, 268 pages, \$29.95), editors with Chelys Givens and Allan Turcotte, chronicles the career of a man who like Gretzky and Howe, dominated his era. From the time he was a child playing hockey in his home town of Shawanigan, Ont.—a record player and the only hockey player in town to spend his professional life with the Montreal Canadiens, too, to the breakthrough of hockey fans, he started out in 1951, playing just pro for the Quebecs. City News Friday at October, 1963, he switched permanently to Montreal's NHL club and as center went on to lead the Habs to an astounding 10 Stanley Cups. After he hung up his skates in 1971, Billman joined the Canadiana management

club set by his kins, George Howe. But Gretzky, at 33, is still playing—or would be were he and the rest of his NHL colleagues not locked out. That fact deprives this book of a fitting conclusion, but it leaves hockey fans with something to look forward to whenever the league resumes play.

Gordon A. Hockey: Legend (Douglas & McIntyre, 250 pages, \$20.95), by Roy MacLennan, tells the familiar tale of the Prince led with the beating rhymes and longed-for victory shot. But the unadorned biography manages to add new dimensions to the story of how the right winger for the Detroit Red Wings became one of the greatest hockey players the National Hockey League has ever seen. Howe was born in Floral, Sask., in 1938 to his father/contractor/writer Al Howe and his wife, Kathleen. Growing up in Depression-ravaged Saskatchewan, the sixth of nine children, he learned to skate at the age of 5, wearing a worn-out pair of skates he shared with his older brother. At 17, he began a professional career that spanned 10 seasons (broken by a 1971 to 1973 hiatus), until he retired in 1980 at the age of 42, then a grandfather.

The strength of O'Brien's MacLennan's book is its ability to recognize the events and people that shaped Howe's personality and motivated him as a player. The author writes that the young Gordon was like his mother—hard, and quick to defend his authority. That trait stayed with him into adulthood, where Howe accepted what the Wayne management told him without question.

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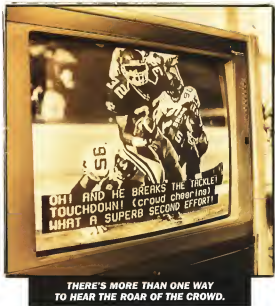


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real, ultimately serving as senior vice-president for corporate affairs before his retirement in August 1990. In his memoirs, he offers firsthand accounts of his rise to the Canadiens, and of the careers of many of the team's great players, including Bernie (Boom Boom) Goffman and Jacques Plante. Earlier this year, (Bellevue, now 62, received a lifetime proposal for one of hockey's elite, classical players, when Prince Maurice (Jean Chénier) asked him to consider becoming governor general) of Canada. But he declined, saying he wanted to spend time with his wife, Dore.

Open Ice: The Tim Horton Story (Oxford, 456 pages, \$27.99) by Douglas Hunter is a very different kind of hockey portrait. It is the biography of a man better remembered for the chain of doughnut stores that bears his name, and the high speed of car crash that killed him in 1993, than for an NHL career that spanned 24 years. For Burlington, Ont.-based author Hunter, though, Horton's life is both compelling in itself and as a study in Canadian hockey history, a "slayer tale" best to be told.

The result of massive research, including 180 hours of interviews with 70 associates, opponents, friends and relatives of the Maple Leaf star defenceman, the book delivers more than anyone might want to know about a now-legendary hockey culture. But in the end, the sheer mass of information about pro and amateur hockey in postwar Northern Ontario, plus Horton's lethal style and eye for telling detail, carry the reader along. A team photo of the 1985 Stanley Cup champions Leafs leads to a meditation on their struggle. 13 of 39 players grew up in Northern Ontario or Quebec, between latitudes 45° and 50°, longitudes 79° and 83°

Tim Horton was age, born in Chatham, Ont., 600 km north of Toronto, in 1930.

Horton followed a path to the NHL, well worn by talented northern boys. And at every step along the way, from local league star to national pro to expansion team member, Hunter is able to show how Horton's career mirrored the tremendous



Wayne and Walter Gretzky: a hockey dynasty

changes that the sport and the business of hockey were undergoing. At the height of his game, in 1980, playing for a team about to win three Stanley Cups in a row, Horton was paid \$12,000. More than a decade later, when he was in his 40s and playing with the Buffalo Sabres expansion team during the era of WHA competition, his salary was

\$150,000. When the league moved to a more fairly offensive style in the 1980s, Horton was one of the first players to develop a shot. His occasional crowd-pleasing number up the ice anticipated the era of Bobby Orr. He was even a physical threat, busting legs before a brawl in the cage. Hunter easily makes his case—Horton is a story that deserves to be told.

Bud Fisher: Hockey, Hockey, and Me (McClelland & Stewart, 274 pages, \$29.95) provides the ultimate insider's glimpse of the game. Fisher, who has covered hockey for almost 40 of his 69 years—first with the now defunct Montreal Star and currently for Star's sister, the Gazette—provides a lively, humorous account of his life at NHL arenas across North America. The death of Canadian sports writers, he has been around so long that he counts many NHL managers and players among his friends. They, in turn, have often converted Fisher to their business dealings. In fact, Edmonton Oilers general manager Glen Sather once asked Fisher to recommend a draft pick. Fisher suggested defenseman Len Lunde, who subsequently became a standout on four Oiler Stanley Cup teams.

Fisher even found himself on the mark of the MacMaster trade that took Chicago Blackhawks centre Phil Esposito to the Boston Bruins in 1968. The book, impressive as that story may be, is a catch to Chicago's offer of a player of Esposito's quality, asked Fisher to place his contacts in Chicago. When Hawk centre Stan Mikita told Fisher there was nothing physically wrong with Esposito, the deal was done. Despite being so high on the action, Fisher still manages to keep his journalistic distance, making Hockey, Hockey, and Me, both humorous and enlightening.

Years of Glory (McClelland & Stewart, 242 pages, \$45), edited by Dan Diamond, with sections produced by such veteran sports writers as Trent Frayne and Mike Inzell, is subtitled *The Greatest Book of the 20th Century*. For so subtitled NHL history, this homage to the quarter century from

**DAILY
FLIGHTS
THERE.**



Revisionist Riel

A biographer shows another side of the rebel

RIEL: A LIFE OF REVOLUTION

By Maggie Siggins
(HarperCollins, 357 pages, \$29)

SOME countries boast of their successful revolutionaries. But in Canada, it is the failures who have passed into legend. William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis-Joseph Papineau saw their anti-British rebellions of 1837 crushed, yet both men achieved immortality and became rallying symbols for the nationalists who succeeded them. Another failure, prime Métis leader Louis Riel led two rebellions against the government in Ottawa, in 1869-70 and 1885. He was hanged for his trouble and, ever since, his name has been a hotbed ground for conflicting views of Canada's past. Historians have viewed him as both a misguided if not completely mad visionary and as a regional hero—a sort of early provincial-rights activist and nationalist. In all three accounts, Riel as a human being has been curiously absent. Now in *Riel: A Life of Revolution*, Maggie Siggins, whose previous works include *A Canadian Tragedy* (1985), about the murder of John Dillinger, has embarked on the private Riel as a never before. By fleshing out his family life and quoting extensively from Riel's own diaries and letters, she has given the revolutionary a personality and liveliness no other biography can touch.

Siggins makes no secret of her biases. Her quotations are entirely with the mind-blowing people of the old Red River settlement in the area of present-day Winnipeg where Riel was born in 1844. They were buffalo hunters, mostly Catholic and French speaking (though with a large English-speaking minority), who lived by supplying the Hudson's Bay Co. with buffalo meat and furs. As Riel grew up, the tide of those people became increasingly precarious. The buffalo were disappearing. And as the new Ontario and Canada prepared to take control of the area then the BOC in 1869, it was by no means certain that the new government would guarantee the Métis rights to the small fur-trade farms that were, interestingly, their main source of livelihood.

Led by Riel, the Métis formed a provisional government to negotiate their entry into Canada on favorable terms. Siggins suggests

that they might have succeeded if Riel's uncle had not executed a Canadian navy officer, Thomas Scott, for treasonous behavior. (He had, among other things, threatened to murder Riel.) Scott's death provoked a huge anti-Catholic backlash in Protestant Ontario, and a Canadian expeditionary force headed west to punish the Métis. Riel fled to the United States. He returned in 1885 to lead the so-

called the Métis in ragged, honest and flamboyant free spirits, while the Canadian officials and adventurers who arrived to make their fortunes in the West were inevitably described as foolish, dishonest, bigoted and greedy. No doubt many of them were, but I would have been far more effective if Siggins had let the actions of those men speak for themselves.

Yet, Siggins does manage to avoid colour where it matters most: in her portrait of Riel. The man was so rational, so sophisticated, that he finished through her pages almost like a succession of different men. Riel was probably one of the best-educated and most gifted leaders in Canadian history. He was fluent in French, English and Cree, and could read and write Latin. He was a passionately devoted family man, a charismatic speaker and—in the most part, Siggins thinks—far less than the Métis with more moderation and skill than he is usually given credit for. His poetry is third-rate. It was never intended for publication, but it reveals deep moments of acute sensitivity and feeling that make Riel seem superior, as a man, to his great opponent, that only practitioner of realpolitik, Sir John A. Macdonald.

Riel, however, had a tendency to crack under extreme pressure, and there can be no doubt that some of his bravest moments during the second rebellion got in the way of practical action. But rather than the moving machine of some accounts, Siggins paints a picture of a basically sane man with subconscious gifts that sometimes got out of control. To quote other words she claims: "As to say that a manager's spontaneity is beyond the pale, that conformity must smother all alternatives."

Siggins's writing has a conceptual precision, but it doesn't too frequently lack the backbone of descriptions. Her prisoners inevitably "laughed" in jail, talked "gruesome" under the weight of fences, while the Métis are, of course, "crack shots" and "have the privilege like the best of their kind." But also are creators of scenes of great force—particularly in looking Riel's trial and death. Mentioning the scaffold in Regina in November 1885, he conducted himself with a dignity and calm worthy of the tragic hero that, at many times, he had become. He had failed as a revolutionist, but as Siggins makes clear, there was more of greatness in his failure than in any so-called political success.

JOHN FARGHER

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Smorgas-lord

Roasting a food-marketing wizard

THE EDIBLE MAN: DAVE NICHOL, PRESIDENT'S CHOICE & THE MAKING OF POPULAR TASTE
By Anne Kingston
Oxford University Press, 265 pages, \$26.95

Dave Nichol is a dog man. He has won a succession of French bulldogs whose Canadian lives have become almost as familiar as his own. Nichol, the only Canadian food-industry leader who might be recognized in a check-out line, would routinely dress the dogs up in T-shirts or hats that matched his own and pose with them to advertise his President's Choice (PC) line for the Loblaws chain. In her account of Nichol's rise to supermarket stardom, Toronto reporter Anne Kingston links his guilty pleasure for canines to his decision to create an Italian meal for dogs. *The Edible Man* documents how a pet-food manufacturer had to try 40 recipes before he came up with a mixture of meat, tomato sauce, macaroni, olive oil and spices that satisfied Nichol. Although Kingston does not back it up with personal research, she quotes Nichol's recent business associate, Gerry Pessier, on the quality of the products: "You could get PC Gourmet Italian Dog Food sent to Chef Dog and he'd be a little bit lost, and he would say, 'More spaghetti, Nichol called the spaghetti right. Dogs prefer it \$1.25 a can—while three-

times an Italian-style dinner for people sold for 99 cents—dog owners lined up. Gourmet Italian was another triumph for Nichol, the food-industry insider-turned-developer for Loblaws Supermarkets Ltd. Nichol, now 56, left Loblaws in 1993, ending a 12-year association. In 1972, armed with degrees in commerce and law, he joined the food company, where a long friendship with Helen Wesson, one of the family that owned Loblaws. Along with Wesson and Richard Curcio, now chairman and president respectively, Nichol set about retooling the stodgy chain, which spans all the provinces. Despite the trial's success, in 1994, Nichol was appointed president of a new division with the mandate to develop store-brand products—in effect a derivative. But as Kingston points out in her enthralling narrative through Nichol's life—and the supermarket world in which he operates—Nichol went on to make his biggest mark there.

In his rigorous efforts to develop No-Name gourmet brands that could rival heavily advertised national products, Nichol found a role for his big ego. Appearing in his first TV commercial in 1980, he was still, on television—and endearingly down-to-earth. Shoppers believed his earnest sales pitches and trusted that his taste for the mildly exotic could be shared.

But in her authorized biography, Kingston portrays Nichol as quite different from the

consciousness image he projected in Loblaws' advertising. He referred to his customers as the "squashed masses." And, although he loves food, his tastes were refined by a native Loblaws exposure account that allowed him to get around the world doing exclusive tastings. His performance ran to classic French cuisine larded with butter, meat and calories. Although in later years he did bow to pressure and introduced healthier, lower-fat food, he personally remained, she writes, a "grain-corn-chicken land of joy."

Nichol resisted the notion of introducing a President's Choice salsa far more, even ridiculing the buyers who was pushing it. Kingston writes that Nichol, the son of a small-town Ontario supermarket, disdained the notion of spicy food because he thought of it as peasant fare. Eventually, Nichol succumbed to the pleas of his product developers and introduced salsa. And Kingston notes that by the time he started bottling it as the bestselling salsa in the country in 1992, he was taking all the credit. He claimed that he heard about it from a lawyer on a flight from Miami.

Despite his personal preferences, Nichol mostly understood his customers' tastes. That, combined with his insistence that product developers meet his requirements of high quality and low prices, revolutionized the pre-1980s business that is, foods created by and for his stores, and not by food giants. With President's Choice, he launched products that consumers perceived as being even better than national brands. Despite Nichol's success, his bosses reacted coolly. "Publicly Curcio declared that Mr. Nichol—and President's Choice—was the real money maker for the company," writes Kingston. "Turkey are very dumb birds," Curcio said, explaining the role of President's Choice within Loblaws. "In order to get them to eat, farmers put plus pellets into their regular feed. The glass is always in attraction mode. So they come in to eat. That's what President's Choice is to us. It brings shoppers into the store."

A year ago, Nichol and Loblaws announced that they were parting ways. The split prompted speculation in business circles of wrangling on Nichol's part, but Kingston suggests that her subject chose to leave Loblaws for his own reasons. He says he has a loose association with Pessier's company, Carl Corp., a private-label soft drink manufacturer. And what has Nichol's departure meant for Loblaws? Kingston reports that some employees believe that money has been sapped from the company. "He may have been a bully," says one Loblaws insider, "but he pushed everyone to the limit and created a lot of enthusiasm." Consumers can still buy President's Choice products. But now that the president is no longer the bulldog-wielding Dave Nichol, it remains to be seen whether PC products will continue to be the shoppers' choice.

BRENDA DAUGLISH

Art of the deal-makers

Works from the boardroom light up galleries

If anyone was mourning the loss of the Canadian painter, who resembles a grumpy, enlarged photograph of a male, now overlaid with pink vertical lines they did not bother to say so. Earlier this year, the Calgary law firm Barnett, Duckworth & Palmer lent three works to an exhibition of corporate art-including the aforementioned *Hidden Values* (1980), by Calgary artist Chris Crna.

"People have objected to it from time to time," says partner Ann Pettie, who chooses all of the firm's art. "And when it was loaned out our lawyer told us he was glad it was gone." The show that Moorehead sponsored to view the Western Canada segment of *Hidden Values*, a series of three regional exhibitions that is giving the public a rare opportunity to see some of the finest recent Canadian art owned by the business sector. "The art we've acquired reflects the progressive nature of our partnership," says Pettie. "The legal profession is very individual, but if you stay with all the old tried and true methods, you won't do the best thing for your clients."

Companies and other private organizations collect art for a variety of reasons—to create an image, to decorate their office walls, to acquire a commodity whose value may escalate. And *Hidden Values*, featuring 275 works by Alex Colville, Jack Shadbolt, Betty Goodwin and other established figures as well as many younger artists, is the first major, carefully curated exhibition of Canadian art in such collections. Sponsored by TriMark Investment Management Inc. with assistance from The Museum of Contemporary Art, the series of exhibitions began in Halifax last June at the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia with a show of work by artists associated with Atlantic Canada. That show ran until Sept. 4. From Sept. 17 to Nov. 6, the Western component was on view at The Edmonton Art Gallery. The final, Ontario installment opened on Nov. 13 at the Ontario Canadian Art Collection in Kitchener, Ont., just north of Toronto, where it will remain in display until Feb. 1. The exhibition also includes a volume on Quebec corporate art that was produced under the *Hidden Values* banner, and Dou-



Shadbolt's picture shows first-rate picture

glas & McIntyre Inc. published an accompanying book, also called *Hidden Values*. Business began taking an interest in Canadian artists nearly 150 years ago, when the Hudson's Bay Co. subsidized the travels of Paul Kane, the painter who extensively documented Canada's First Nations people and

edges that his company's need to be perceived by clients as socially responsible articulated it from acquiring a large number of pieces. "It's a fine line," he says. "You don't want your office to look too opulent."

Still, some Canadian corporations have acquired thousands of artworks—and *Hidden Values* reveals that many pieces adorning the corridors of power are first-rate. Prominent regional differences in collecting patterns have emerged from the three exhibitions and the Quebec video. Landscapes and abstracts by local artists dominated the Halifax show, which was curbed by Alex MacKay. Some of its images, such as Mary Pratt's *Swallowtail on Table Mountain* (1980), owned by Irving Oil Ltd. of St. John, N.B., transform an everyday subject into a powerful artistic statement. But many of the works were more decorative than memorable. The Edmonton show and the Quebec video also reflected a strong bias in favor of local talent—Western artists in clothing Shadbolt in the first instance, and such Quebecers as Lucie Mulvaney in the second. In both cases, the overall content was bold and diverse.

The Ontario portion of the exhibition is more national in its scope. Still, it includes several art-restoring works by Toronto artists, ranging from Jack Bush's towering 1964 abstract *Colour Coat*, owned by The Imperial Life Assurance Co. of Canada, to Stan Demosky's political photograph *Shuttle East* (1985), on loan from the law firm of McMillan Bloch.

Wage some legal firms tend to gravitate towards cutting-edge art, most corporations tend to prefer less adventurous works. David Solis, director of the Sedes-Cassidy Gallery in Toronto, says that the "highly aggressive" art he sells has never been popular with corporations because much of them want "a bit of a visual feast" or decorative.

Still, *Hidden Values* indicates that a growing number of firms have begun acquiring the creations of younger artists. One is the Toronto-based law firm of Orlitz, Haskin & Harcourt. Stephen Schar, the partner who chairs the firm's art committee, regards its 200-work collection as a means of establishing a thematic identity in today's "lucrative world." He has a point. In 1980, the McMillan Canadian Art Collection, home of some five-level Group of Seven works, organized a show featuring pieces from Orlitz, Haskin & Harcourt. Schar told us, no law firm with its name set of visible points on its walls has ever received that kind of recognition.

PAMELA SCOTT

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